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**Post-conflict Agrarian Change in Angónia:  
Land, Labour and the Organization of  
Production in the Mozambique-Malawi  
Borderland**

Helena Pérez-Niño

Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

2014

Department of Development Studies  
SOAS, University of London

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## **Abstract**

Dominant theories in development studies see war as development in reverse and post-conflict reconstruction as the process of building institutions and production systems from scratch. However, wars are embedded in longer historical processes of social change. Social change shapes wars but wars also shape and redirect patterns of social change. This is the case for the study of post-conflict rural development, which has largely ignored the long-term formation of social relations of production and the effects of war-economies.

This thesis proposes a historically-grounded analysis of post-conflict agrarian change in the context of capitalist development with particular emphasis on the organization of production and dynamics of social differentiation. It does so by reconstructing the formation of the agrarian regime, identifying different social groups and their relations of production, reproduction and exchange to examine how these were transformed by the introduction of tobacco farming in the post-war period.

The Angónia Highlands in central Mozambique were devastated by the civil war. Besides the loss of life, productive assets were destroyed, fields were abandoned and around 90 per cent of the population fled as refugees to Malawi. In the decades after the end of the war the highlands became the epicentre of an agricultural boom linked to the post-conflict adoption of tobacco under contract farming. This thesis reconciles these contrasting periods by revealing the continuity of agrarian relations through war and disaggregating the experiences of different social groups. The thesis draws on primary research in Angónia, including a survey of tobacco farmers and archival work.

The current regime is linked to a very long history of labour market participation and an on-going process of commodification of the relations of production. It is also proposed that war-time labour dynamics contributed to the transformation of the organization of production. Both have resulted in changing property relations and a more complex class structure. The thesis concludes that social structure and war dynamics shape the contemporary agrarian regime at different levels: the prevailing forms of land management have created different production regimes within the district, while the households' labour hiring balance in tobacco is responsible for the considerable extent of socio-economic differentiation that characterizes contemporary Angónia.

## Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures .....	6
List of Maps .....	9
Acronyms .....	10
Currency equivalents .....	12
Glossary .....	13
Acknowledgements .....	16
Maps .....	18
Introduction .....	21
Working hypotheses and research questions .....	25
Structure of the thesis .....	28
Chapter I: Contract farming in Mozambique: a survey of the literature .....	32
1.1. A Political economy of contract farming .....	33
1.2. Proletarianization as a historical tendency .....	45
1.3. Conclusion .....	51
Chapter II: War in a borderland: historical processes and spatial relations in the political economy of war .....	53
2.1. Socio-economic dynamics and the political economy of war .....	54
2.2. A critique of the spatial turn in African studies .....	61
2.3. Conclusion .....	75
Chapter III: Agrarian change in Angónia: case study and methodology .....	76
3.1 Agrarian change in Angónia: presentation of the case study .....	76
3.2 Researching rural Mozambique: methodology of the study .....	90
3.3 Three research sites .....	108
Chapter IV: Colonial Angónia, taming a frontier and the making of a labour reserve .....	117
4.1 Introduction .....	117
4.2. The making of Angónia .....	125
4.3 The formation of the colonial agrarian structure .....	130
4.4. Conclusion .....	152
Chapter V: Independence and Civil War .....	155
5.1. Frelimo's political traction in Angónia during the liberation campaign .....	157
5.2. Independent Mozambique and Frelimo in power .....	160
5.3. Angónia at war .....	172
5.4. The Malawian decade .....	182
5.5. Conclusion .....	194
Chapter VI: Post-conflict agricultural reconstruction in Angónia .....	197
6.1 The adoption of tobacco under contract in Angónia .....	200
6.2 Drivers of tobacco contract farming adoption in Angónia .....	216
6.3 Conclusion .....	226
Chapter VII: Land relations: lineage, vernacular market and the changing patterns of ownership and transfer .....	228
7.1 Kinship and patterns of household formation and residence in Angónia .....	230

7.2 Vernacular land markets .....	237
7.3. Contrasting clusters in terms of the land regimes.....	245
7.4. Conclusions .....	248
Chapter VIII: Labour relations in Angónia: hiring in and hiring out in historical perspective.....	252
8.1 The changing labour hiring balances in Angónia .....	253
8.2. Classes of labour in tobacco farming.....	256
Chapter IX: Socio-economic differentiation and class formation in contemporary Angónia .....	267
9.1 Social differentiation past and present.....	271
9.2 Measuring and theorizing social differentiation .....	274
9.3 Towards an agrarian class structure in Angónia .....	279
9.4 Wealth and dynamism in tobacco farming .....	293
9.5 Conclusion .....	296
Chapter X: Conclusions .....	299
References.....	310
Annexes .....	322

## List of Tables and Figures

Figure 1.1 Main themes examined.....	28
Table 1.2 Tobacco producing households in Angónia.....	35
Graph 3.1a Mozambique: Tobacco Production .....	81
Table 3.1b Distribution production units with access to credit and inputs by province ..	82
Graph 3.2 Cash-crop Production in Mozambique, by Province .....	83
Table 3.3a Agricultural exports Mozambique in 2011(USD).....	84
Table 3.3b Agricultural exports Mozambique in 2011(tonnes) .....	84
Table 3.4 Province of Tete: Tobacco Production by District in 2011 .....	85
Graph 3.5 Numbers of producers and share of output .....	97
Graph 3.6 Lorenz Curve of tobacco production.....	97
Table 3.7 Final survey sample .....	98
Table 3.8 Summary of demographic characteristics of the sample .....	108
Figure 3.9 Schema of survey clusters .....	109
Figure 4.1 Parental labour migrations by destination .....	122
Figures 4.2 and 4.3 All eligible men in the sample divided in age cohorts .....	123
Figure 4.3 Cohort 1, long distance labour migration by destination.....	124
Table 4.4 Tax-payers and forced labour in Tete, 1948 .....	144
Table 4.5 Wage differentials in Sena Sugar Estates in 1931 .....	147
Table 4.6 Angónia, location of able-bodied men registered in 1952 .....	151
Table 4.7 Destination of recruited forced labour from Angónia, 1952.....	151
Table 5.1 Displacement and victimization of respondents in the sample .....	178
Graph 5.2 Year in which respondents fled their villages .....	178
Table 5.3 Mozambican IDPs and refugees by destination .....	183
Table 5.4 Origin of refugees in Malawi by province in 1993 .....	184
Table 5.5 Return from Malawi by district of origin in 1993.....	184
Table 5.6 Respondent's economic activities during the war.....	189
Graph 5.7 Year in which respondents returned to Angónia.....	194

Table 6.1 Tobacco indicators .....	203
Figure 6.2 Tobacco Value of Exports 1990-2011 (1000 US\$) .....	204
Figure 6.3 Unmanufactured Tobacco Production 1979-2011 (tonnes).....	204
Table 6.4 Tobacco sectors: institutional arrangements .....	205
Table 6.5 Tobacco concessions in 2005.....	210
Figure 6.6 Tobacco: area under cultivation by province (ha) .....	214
Table 7.1a Survey respondents' marital status by gender.....	231
Table 7.1b Survey respondents' marital status by cluster.....	231
Table 7.2 Household residential patterns .....	233
Table 7.3 Fields worked after marriage .....	234
Table 7.4a Respondents who received land from their family.....	235
Table 7.4b Landholding size for fields received from own family .....	235
Table 7.5 Land inherited by the household.....	236
Table 7.6a Headcount of respondents by channel of access to land and gender.....	243
Table 7.6b Headcount of respondents by channel of access to land and cluster.....	243
Table 7.7 Size of landholdings by channel of access to land* .....	244
Table 7.8 Average landholding size by cluster .....	245
Table 7.9 Average area in tobacco by cluster (ha).....	245
Table 7.10 Average income from tobacco by cluster (Meticais) .....	246
Graph 7.11 Residential patterns by cluster .....	246
Graph 7.12 Marital residential patterns in first union by age cohort (percentage) .....	247
Table 8.1 Tobacco farmers, dominant productive dynamics.....	255
Table 8.2 Maximum number of <i>ganyu</i> workers hired in a day 2011-2012.....	259
Table 8.3 Total number of <i>seasoni</i> workers hired during 2011-2012.....	261
Table 9.1 Tobacco farmers by revenue quartiles (in Meticais).....	275
Table 9.1 Proposed class structure in tobacco agriculture in Angónia .....	282
Table 9.2 Classes of tobacco farmers in Angónia.....	287
Table 9.3 Detail of petty capitalist farmers hiring practices by subgroup .....	291



Table 9.4 Detail of petty commodity producers hiring practices by subgroup .....	293
Table 9.5 Average number of workers hired by class of farmers .....	294
Table 9.6 Landholding and area in tobacco .....	295
Table 9.7 Average tobacco revenue in 2012 by classes of farmers (Meticais) .....	295
Table 9.8 Farmers that own high value assets per category .....	296

## List of Maps

Map 1.1 Mozambique .....	18
Map 1.2 District of Angónia, Province of Tete .....	19
Map 1.3 District of Angónia, Divisions Ulongue and Domwe.....	19
Map 1.4 Sub-district of Ulongue .....	20
Map 3.1 The district of Angónia after the 1986 territorial reform.....	79
Map 4.1 Nguni migrations and states in East Southern Africa, 19 <sup>th</sup> century. ....	131
Map 4.2 Portuguese <i>prazos</i> in the Zambezi ca. 1650 .....	131
Map 4.3 Angónia and other recruitment areas for Sena Sugar Estates 1930-1960.....	141
Map 5.1 Field research sites in Angónia during the post-war period .....	174
Map 5.2 Electoral results first post-conflict election of 1994.....	181

## Acronyms

Agricom	State agricultural marketing board, Mozambique
CEA	Centre of African Studies, Maputo (Portuguese: Centro de Estudos Africanos da Universidade Eduardo Mondlane)
CSO	Civil society organization
DNSA	National Agrarian Directorate (Portuguese: Direcção Nacional de Serviços Agrários)
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
Frelimo	Mozambique Liberation Front (Portuguese: Frente de Libertação de Moçambique)
ICM	Mozambican Cereal Institute (Portuguese: Instituto de Cereais de Moçambique)
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDP	Internally displaced person
IESE	Institute of Economic and Social Studies (Portuguese: Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Económicos)
IFI	International Financial Institutions
MLT	Mozambique Leaf Tobacco
MNC	Multinational corporation
NCE	Neo-classical economics
NIE	New Institutional Economics
PCA	Principal component analysis
PIDE	Portuguese Colonial Secrete Services (Portuguese: Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado)
Renamo	Mozambican National Resistance (Portuguese: Resistência Nacional Moçambicana)
RNLB	Rhodesia Native Labour Bureau
RTI	1907 Labour legislation (Portuguese: Regulamento do Trabalho dos Indígenas)
SDAE	District office for economic development (Portuguese: Serviço Distrital de Actividades Económicas)
SEC	U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission

SINTAF	Agricultural Workers Union (Portuguese: Sindicato Nacional dos Trabalhadores Agro-pecuários e Florestais)
STFA	Survey of Tobacco Farmers in Angónia
UNAC	Mozambican National Peasant Union (Portuguese: União Nacional de Camponeses de Moçambique)
UNHCR	UN High Commissioner for Refugees
Unami	African Union for Independent Mozambique (Portuguese: União Africana de Moçambique Independente)

## **Currency equivalents**

### **Official exchange rate**

(As of September 2014)

**Mozambique Metical**      GBP£ 1.00 = 49.55 MZN

**Malawi Kwacha**              GBP£ 1.00 = 628.983 MWK

### **Market exchange rate**

(Exchange rate as practiced by informal currency traders at the border and by farmers when paying migrant workers)

1 Metical = 10 Makwacha

## Glossary

The names and spelling used are in Chichewa whenever this is the common usage in the research site, not in their Portuguese versions (e.g. *ganyu*, not *ganho-ganho*).

<b><i>Aldeamento</i></b> (Port.)	Strategic villages established in the late colonial period and during the civil war
<b><i>Aldeia</i></b> (Port.)	Village
<b><i>Antigos combatentes</i></b> (Port.)	Former combatants in the liberation struggle
<b><i>Assimilados</i></b> (Port.)	Africans and <i>mestiços</i> considered ‘civilized’ by colonial authorities.
<b><i>Banca</i></b> (Port.)	Grocery stall, shop
<b><i>Banja</i></b> (Chichewa, pl. ma-)	Residential family
<b><i>Bele</i></b> (Chichewa, pl. ma-)	Matrilineal segment
<b><i>Bolo</i></b> (Port.)	Flour doughnut
<b><i>Campanha</i></b> (Port.)	Agricultural season
<b><i>Capitão</i></b> (Port.)	Foreman in the sugar plantations
<b><i>Capulana</i></b> (Moz. Port.)	Wrap-around cloth worn by women
<b><i>Chefe de Posto</i></b> (Port.)	Local administrator
<b><i>Chibalo</i></b> (Moz. Port.)	Colonial forced labour
<b><i>Chikamwini</i></b> (Chichewa)	Matrilocal marriage
<b><i>Chikunda</i></b> (Moz. Port.pl. Achikunda)	Slaves armed by the <i>prazo</i> -holders
<b><i>Chipunda chaminga</i></b> (Chichewa)	‘Stepping on thorns’, payment in the vernacular land market
<b><i>Chitengua</i></b> (Chichewa)	Virilocal marriage
<b><i>Chwanga</i></b> (Chichewa?)	Third level customary chief in Angónia
<b><i>Colheita</i></b> (Port.)	Harvest
<b><i>Colono</i></b> (Port.)	Portuguese settler
<b><i>Cooperantes</i></b> (Port.)	Foreign volunteer worker
<b><i>Dambo</i></b>	Moist alluvial patch. Shallow wetlands in central, southern and eastern Africa.
<b><i>Dimba</i></b> (Chichewa, pl. ma-)	Vegetable garden

<b><i>Escudo</i></b> (Port.)	Portuguese colonial currency
<b><i>Fardo</i></b> (Port.)	Bale of tobacco
<b><i>Ganho-ganho</i></b> (Moz.Port.)	Casual task-based work
<b><i>Ganyu</i></b> (Chichewa)	Casual task-based work
<b><i>Grupos dinamizadores</i></b> (Port., pl.)	Assemblies tasked with replacing the customary authorities at the local level and conformed by party secretaries and chairmen
<b><i>Horta</i></b> (Port.)	Vegetable garden
<b><i>Inkosi</i></b> (chiNgoni from isiZulu)	King, chief.
<b><i>Limana</i></b> (Chichewa, pl. ma-)	Group of families having only one ancestor
<b><i>Lobolo</i></b> (Moz.Port. from isiZulu 'ilobolo'.)	Bridewealth
<b><i>Localidad</i></b> (Port.)	Smallest administrative unit under <i>postos administrativos</i>
<b><i>Loja do povo</i></b> (Port.)	State-owned People's Shops after independence
<b><i>Machamba</i></b> (Moz.Port., pl.)	Fields
<b><i>Mato</i></b> (Port.)	rural areas
<b><i>Mestiço</i></b> (Port.)	An individual of mixed white and African ancestry
<b><i>Metical</i></b> (Port., pl. -cais.)	Mozambican currency. 1 GBP = 49.6 MT
<b><i>Mfumo</i></b> (Chichewa)	Paramount chief in Angónia and in Malawi
<b><i>Miombo</i></b> (Swahili)	Sub-tropical shrubland biome of south-central Africa, characterized by trees of the subfamily <i>Caesalpinioideae</i> , particularly Miombo ( <i>Brachystegia</i> ).
<b><i>Munda</i></b> (Chichewa pl. mi-)	Field
<b><i>Mussoco</i></b> (Moz. Port.)	Colonial poll taxes in the Zambezi valley
<b><i>Nduna</i></b> (Chingoni, from Zulu, pl. -izi-)	Headman, Overseer. Second level chief in Angónia
<b><i>Negócio</i></b> (Port.)	Business, trade

<b><i>Nkhoswe</i></b> ( <i>Chichewa</i> )	Head of a matrilineal segment, the eldest male matrilineal relative of the common ancestor, councillor
<b><i>Nyakwawa</i></b> ( <i>Chichewa</i> )	Village chief, fourth level chief in Angónia
<b><i>Posto Administrativo</i></b> ( <i>Port.</i> )	District administrative subdivision
<b><i>Prazos da Coroa</i></b> ( <i>Port.</i> )	Colonial land grants leased to private concessionaries.
<b><i>Sacha</i></b> ( <i>Port.</i> )	Weeding
<b><i>Sisoni</i></b> ( <i>Chichewa</i> )	Seasonal hired worker in Angónia
<b><i>Sipaio</i></b> ( <i>Port., pl. Sipais, alt. Cipaio</i> )	African soldier serving the colonial administration
<b><i>Tiketi</i></b> ( <i>Chichewa</i> )	Permanent hired worker in Malawian tobacco estates
<b><i>Tijolo</i></b> ( <i>Port.</i> )	Building block
<b><i>Ulere</i></b> ( <i>Chichewa?</i> )	Trucks. Free transport system set up by RNLB to bring workers from Nyasaland and Mozambique to mines and estates in Rhodesia.
<b><i>Viveiro</i></b> ( <i>Port.</i> )	Tobacco seedbed



## Acknowledgements

At the start, a PhD project in social sciences looked like a lonely road. But along the way many people got engaged and helped, so much so that now, thinking back, it feels like a labour among companions. I am extremely grateful to everyone who made it possible. This has been a journey of learning and discovery.

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A bursary from Bloomsbury College provided the platform to make this research possible. Fieldwork in Mozambique was funded with a grant from the London International Development Centre which gave me the freedom to design carefully a fieldwork strategy sensitive to the specificities of social research in rural areas, allowing me to reach hundreds of producers despite their spatial dispersion.

IESE, the Institute of Economic and Social Studies in Maputo was a second home to this project, providing institutional support and allowing me to take part in their research and activities. I am also grateful to staff at the National Archives and the Ministry of Agriculture in Maputo as well as in the Provincial Agricultural Directorate and Mozambique Leaf Tobacco in Tete. A very special mention is owed to the staff in the administration of the district of Angónia. My work would not have been possible without the guidance of Eng. Gerson Nunes and Eng. Rosário Nimosso in the SDAE.

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It was a great pleasure to return to SOAS to write among colleagues working on Sogdian coins, Filipino rice terraces, Quranic Tafsir, the soundscapes of Shanghai, Uzbek urbanism, Karamanlides and Pomaks, Zimbabwean filmmakers, Avestan consonants and Burmese drug lords: a welcome break from the Mozambican farmers. Very special thanks to Emmanuel Ashiedu Codjoe, Eduardo Juárez Martínez, Seamus Murphy, Jessica Chu, Anlan Chang, Nomalanga Masina and Ruard Absaroka. I am particularly grateful to Sara Stevano, Francy Carranza Franco and the fantastic Hilary Aked for their friendship and solidarity. I wish to thank my siblings and matrikin of Niño Murcias, Clara Prados and the Quirozses in Santiago, Camilo Castellanos, Mercedes Niño Murcia and Frank Salomon for their care and affection throughout my PhD. Finally, for Federico who braves with me the Laestrygonians and the Cyclops: ¡gracias totales!

This thesis is about an agricultural boom, but our story at home was one of agricultural bust. Dairy farmers in the Colombian central highlands lost out to liberalization, falling prices and the catastrophic floods of 2010 and 2011. By 2012 the highlands where I grew up were no longer the agricultural powerhouse that had sustained urban markets since the 1930s. These years of chronic indebtedness, unemployment, foreclosures and distressed sales are part of a broader agrarian crisis. Although support for reform is growing, it is now too late to reverse the most harmful effects of the prevailing neo-liberal policies. I would like to dedicate this thesis to my mother Alicia, a dairy farmer, for her tenacity in resistance, and for her endeavour to reinvent a livelihood out of farming.

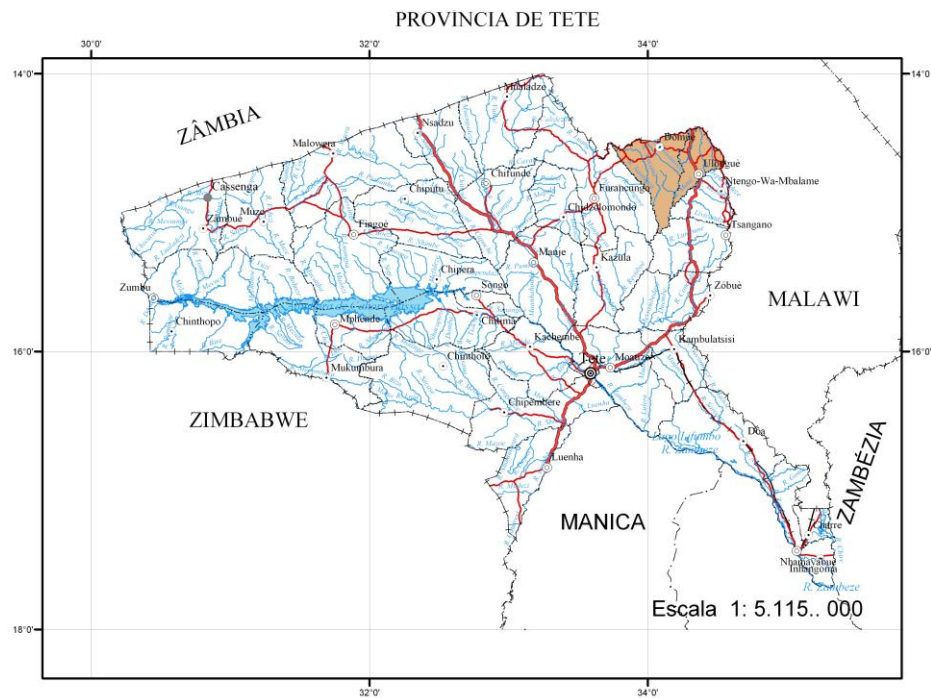
## Maps

Map 1.1 Mozambique



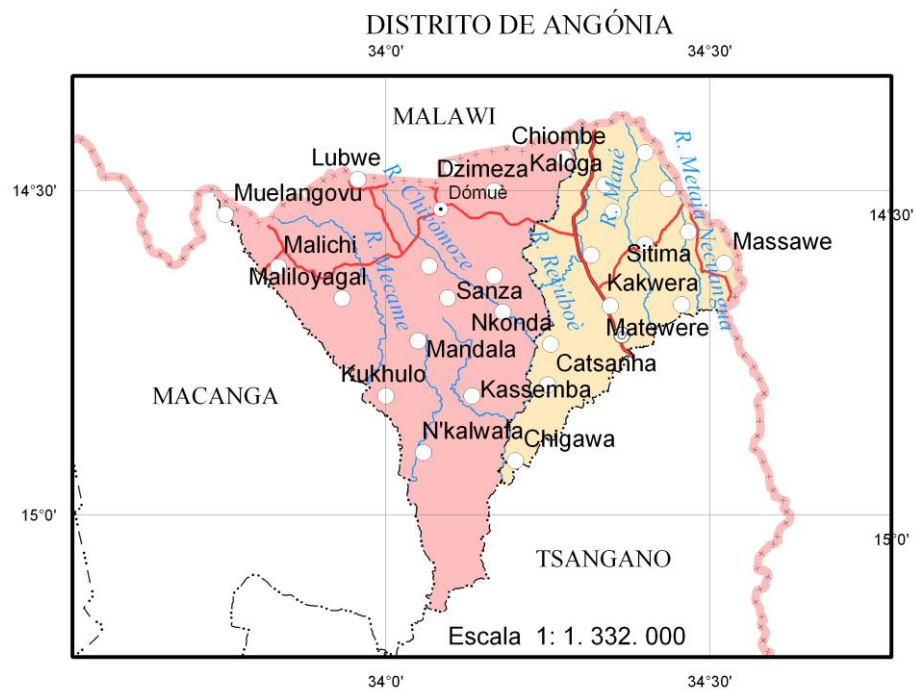
\* Vila Coutinho is the colonial name of Vila Ulongue. The change has not been registered in most contemporary maps.

Map 1.2 District of Angónia, Province of Tete



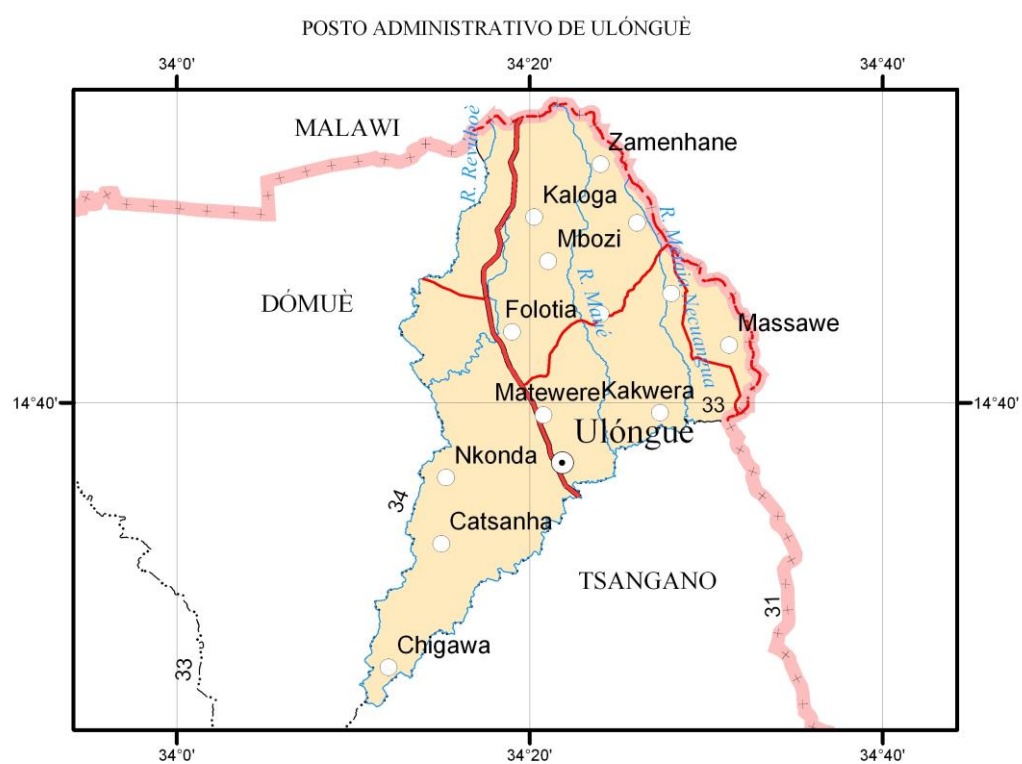
(Source: CENACARTA, Mozambique)

Map 1.3 District of Angónia, Divisions Ulongue and Domwe



(Source: CENACARTA, Mozambique)

Map 1.4 Sub-district of Ulongue



## Introduction

Angónia was a most desolate district during the Mozambican civil war. Interviewees and secondary sources agree on this. The Angónia highlands had been the site of intense territorial dispute by Renamo rebels and a similarly direct counter-insurgency by the Mozambican armed forces before the vast majority of the population (approximately 90 per cent) had fled to neighbouring Malawi where they were to remain for several years. For external observers and for the refugees from Angónia alike, the most disconcerting sight from the other side of the border was that of the fallow fields that looked as if they had never known hoe or plough: before the war Angónia had been a dynamic agricultural district, frequently referred to as the breadbasket of central Mozambique (Borges Coelho 1993, CEA 1983a). Houses and granaries had been wiped clean from the ground, hamlets burned, tools and animals long lost or stolen. Gone too were the vestiges of past wealth: not a tin roof was left standing, bicycles, carts, clothing, blankets...all meticulously carried by captives to the bases of the *Machanga* (the popular name for Renamo) or looted by the *Tropa* (the Frelimo soldiers). Also cars, pounding mill engines and other assets that could not be looted or with no practical use in a war that was largely waged on foot were left abandoned by the side of the roads and in backyards. For the minority that stayed behind in Renamo's 'controlled areas', maize had to be regularly handed over, while those in isolated hamlets took to farming by stealth and sleeping in hideouts to avoid violence and pillage. Refugees in the border settlements farmed fields near the border on the Mozambican side, but many disappeared or were recruited coming back to Malawi in the afternoon.

Even at the time of the fieldwork for this thesis (2012-2013) bullet holes still peppered the façade of the municipal seat and the rusty carcasses of burnt out cars doubled as chicken coops. But present-day Angónia could not be more different. Clouds of bicycles swarm to town on market days; out in the villages kilns are set up everywhere to bake the bricks for new houses in the local vernacular or Malawian style: a tiny porch, a wooden door, cement floor and façade painted white, two sets of glass windows, curtains to match, a proper tin

roof, a sturdy plastic table with colourful chairs and space for a bike or for a motorcycle. Some houses have plump granaries full of maize, goats sleeping in the shadows and chickens pecking about, some also a cart and a pair of oxen. People come and go from the house to the fields, carrying hoes and watering cans. The gardens by the streams are lush with sugar cane, beans and tomato. Everywhere there is the humming of mills pounding maize, of motorcycles and of the odd tractor too. The five municipal markets are a sight to reckon with. Mountains of cabbage and lakes of tomatoes in baskets and boxes are carefully packed in the trucks that come from Beira. The highlands have become the tomato powerhouse of central Mozambique but also truckloads of maize, soya and potato are sold to the wholesale traders of Tete city. Industrial poultry farming is taking off; a new seed production facility was set up and there is talk of a fertilizer factory. The tall silos of the newly-built municipal granary and the agronomy faculty of Zambezi University are the first thing that meets the eye of someone visiting the district capital.

Reconciling these two vignettes is not straightforward. Angónia was the district with the largest number of refugees during the war. More broadly, the group of districts bordering Malawi were the epicentres of the most brutal facet of the war and the scene for the largest humanitarian emergency, with some 1.2 million refugees fleeing to Malawi (pop. 8 million). Much like the rest of Mozambique, Angónia's economy depended on the transport link to and from Beira both as a transit station of trade with Malawi and to transport agricultural produce from Angónia to regional markets. Renamo's early sabotage strategy, which included attacks on schools and health posts, the targeting of state employees and severing communications and transport links, plunged Angónia into isolation and deep economic crisis. War caused widespread - and in parts total - destruction and led to the loss of productive assets. When the time came for a large-scale return after 1993, households and extended kin groups that had changed and grown over the years in Malawi had to be accommodated; land boundaries had to be re-established and renegotiated; the labour-intensive work of clearing fields for farming had to be started from scratch. Some observers feared that because of the magnitude of the resettlement and reconstruction

effort tensions would erupt and conflicts about land restitution would reignite the war. But these fears did not materialize (Myers et al. 1994, Blom 2002).

Instead, a couple of years after the return from Malawi farmers from Angónia adopted a high-value export crop that had never before been commercially grown there: burley tobacco. In the space of a few years production expanded, as did the number of farmers engaged. Since the post-conflict years tobacco has been produced in Mozambique under outgrower contract farming schemes. The agribusiness companies offering tobacco contracts started operations in a number of provinces but in time tobacco production became concentrated in Tete and Niassa, in the same districts surrounding Malawi. Contract farming is not exclusive to tobacco. Post-conflict contract farming has in many ways revolutionised production and exchange in large parts of Mozambique. Some analysts estimate that roughly 12 per cent of the Mozambican population now engages in some form of contract farming (IFAD 2003, WB 2005).

Tobacco is a special case because it is only produced in contract farming agreements under state-sanctioned regional monopsonistic concessions to multinational tobacco-leaf buyers. In the space of a decade, tobacco had become the largest agricultural export and today the value of tobacco exports surpasses that of other agricultural commodities by an ample margin. The Mozambican tobacco sector is the fastest growing in the world (Eriksen et al. 2013). In Mozambique, tobacco is grown in small- and mid-size units of production by local farmers, in stark contrast with large foreign-owned estates that predominate in the production of sugar cane, rice, citrus and biofuels. At the centre of the tobacco boom is the district of Angónia, the largest tobacco producing district in the country. It has been estimated that one in every three households in Angónia is in a production contract for tobacco and the socio-economic impact of tobacco farming is multiplied by the dynamics demand for labour, goods and services.

At face value tobacco could be seen as an exceptional post-conflict reconstruction success story. Even despite impressive rates of GDP growth in the post-war decades, poverty indicators for rural Mozambique remain unmoved and Mozambique is still at the bottom of the human development ranking (Alfani et al. 2012, UNDP 2014). In Mozambique agriculture was liberalized



early on, there are limited agricultural extension services, no subsidies or marketing boards, low rates of use of modern inputs, and local farmers practise non-mechanized, rain fed agriculture. In this context, the agricultural intensification that Angónia and other tobacco producing districts have experienced might confirm the influential proposition in mainstream studies of war and conflict that peace is a condition for growth and that war is development in reverse, and also that growth is the single most important guarantor of sustained peace after a war (Collier et al. 2003, Call 2008). Furthermore, as a fully private sector in Mozambique, tobacco could be cited as example of the benefits of agricultural liberalization in peace-building processes.

A problem with such theories applied to the tobacco boom in Mozambique is that they fail to explain the causal mechanism linking tobacco with areas best known for the impact of the war. The theory could not explain, for example, why tobacco flourished in borderland districts and not elsewhere; or in Tete province but not in Manica, a province with a similar war story, a suitable agroecology and where there was a concerted effort to encourage tobacco. A less sanguine examination of the context and the history of the tobacco boom proves that the post-conflict reconstruction success story is more an ex post facto account than a convincing explanation.

Tobacco is a relatively recent phenomenon in Mozambique, and because there is limited involvement from the state it has received limited attention in the literature. What literature there is on tobacco is firmly framed in institutionalist economics, which leads to some conceptual and methodological dead ends. It will be argued that disregarding context, the process of agrarian class formation and history this approach fails to recognise that there was nothing spontaneous about the post-war adoption of tobacco.

As this thesis shows, the people from Angónia have a very long history of engagement in commodity and labour markets and already by the time of the civil war there was significant social differentiation. The Mozambican refugee population participated intensively in Malawian labour markets during the civil war. Malawian migrant workers make up the majority of the labour force hired in Angónia today. Furthermore, the multinational leaf-buying companies that

started operations in Mozambique had a long presence in Malawi and Zimbabwe, and were hedging their expansion strategy against the uncertainty of the Malawian tobacco sector, which was liberalized in 1994. Finally, tobacco is a very labour intensive crop and the districts bordering Malawi are the most densely populated rural districts in Mozambique. In fact, Angónia was a major colonial labour reserve and the population has a long-standing involvement in long-distance labour migration, as Chapter IV will show.

This rich history of productive and labour exchanges complicates the assumption that tobacco was added to and developed in Angónia on a blank slate. What this thesis will argue is that war transformed the agrarian structure of Angónia in ways that were conducive to the adoption of a crop such as tobacco. But rather than focusing on the characteristics of tobacco as a commodity, this work explores the links between the adoption of the contract farming model and the relations of production – changing in time and space - in Angónia. For this, the thesis digs in the history of the district's engagement with capitalist production, exchange and consumption and traces the process of social differentiation and class formation. This thesis contends that contract farming and the tobacco boom are the latest stage in a longer process of proletarianization and commodification in Angónia. Also, that the wartime experiences of the population had a profound effect in transforming the agrarian structure and laying the foundations for the adoption and generalization of export commodity production. With tobacco, the farming households of Angónia have come full circle in the full integration of the district's economy with global markets.

### **Working hypotheses and research questions**

This thesis is structured around two broad hypotheses on property relations, relations of production and social differentiation.

#### *Hypothesis 1:*

*The adoption and expansion of tobacco, in so far as it represents a deepening of commodity relations, introduces a pressure for the commodification of land. The effects of this pressure are mediated by lineage-based customary land*

*management institutions. Where lineage-based land management is more consolidated, limits to the transfers of land will translate into restrictions for accumulation on the basis of tobacco. Where lineage-based institutions are more flexible, accumulation in tobacco will not be limited by access to land.*

## *Hypothesis 2*

*Contract farming represents a re-agrarianization of the livelihoods of groups of producers that had migrated for wages but had retained their access to land in previous periods. Access to land is a necessary condition for entering into a production contract, but it is the capacity to mobilize household and hired labour what will produce socio-economic differentiation in terms of revenue and asset accumulation.*

These guiding hypotheses touch on central themes and questions about rural development in Mozambique. With more than 80 per cent of the population in the agricultural sector and poverty disproportionately concentrated in rural areas, these are themes relevant to debates about the dynamics of poverty, growth and development in general.

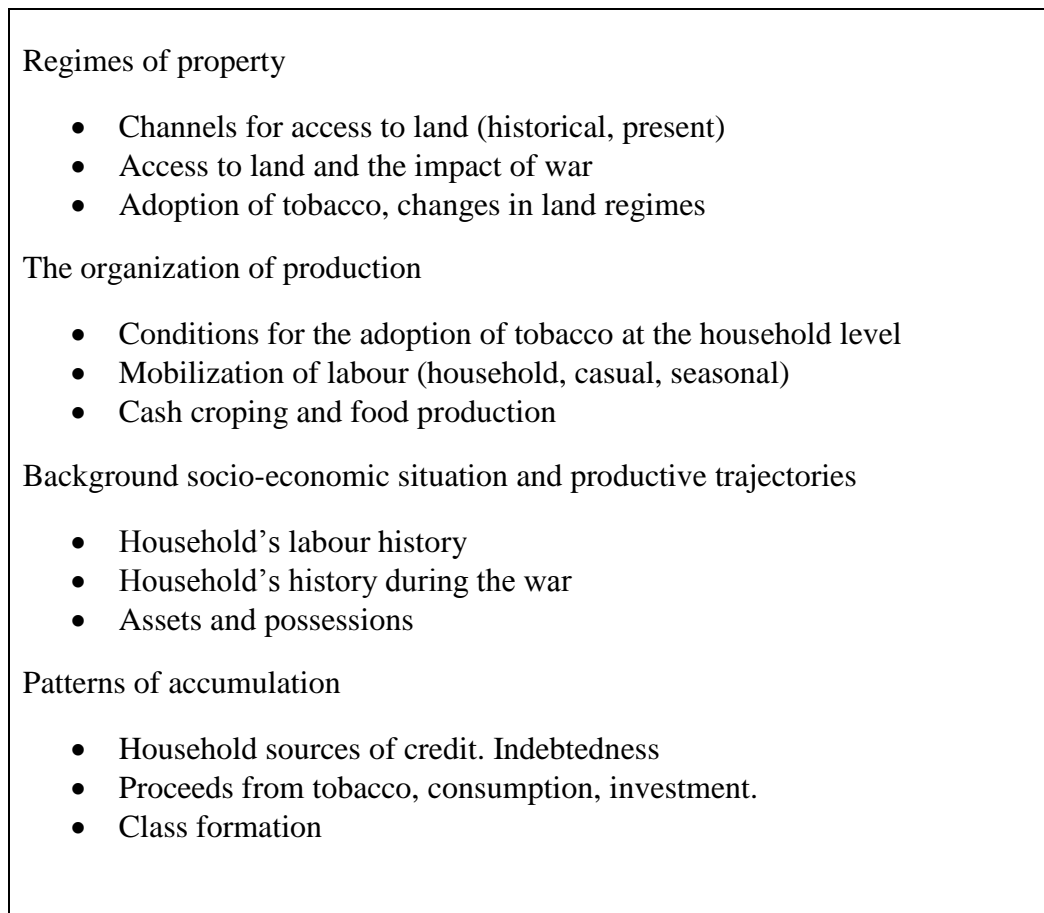
First is the issue of efficiency and justice in the allocation and use of land linked to i) the question of authority and legitimacy in land management institutions in Mozambique and ii) the question of the economic function of land-based resources - whether land should be a channel for private investment and if so, how. These questions were at the centre of legislative debates in the late 1990s about land and local authority (O’Laughlin 1995, Hanlon 2004, Buur and Kyed 2006) and again in the late 2000s as part the ‘land grab’ literature debate (Franco et al. 2010, Hall 2011, Borrás et al. 2010, Borrás et al. 2011, Oya 2013, Edelman 2013). This thesis highlights the importance of a nuanced examination of customary authority over land; of recognizing the variety of land management arrangements made invisible in prevailing policy and law – for example in the case of matrilineal land regimes (Lei de Terras 1997; Lourenço 2009); and it underscores the actual centrality of strategies deployed by investors engaging in agricultural production that do not necessarily involve gaining direct access to land.

Second, this thesis contributes to redressing the neglect of labour relations and rural labour markets in the literature on rural development in Mozambique. The history of labour migration and the process of proletarianization are central to the formation of contemporary agrarian regimes, yet are for the most part invisible in the literature on rural development (See O’Laughlin 2002, Cramer et al. 2008). The thesis shows that participation in labour markets was a central experience for people of the Angónia highland early on, but that the literature on the agrarian development of Mozambique has not taken stock of the consequences of these dynamics. This is a more pronounced difficulty in literature on the post-civil war transition which fails to consider the labour experiences of Mozambican refugees during the war (Tshirley and Benfica 2001, Brück 2004).

Third, the economic dynamism and productivity gains that characterize agricultural booms are difficult to retain after international prices and demands recede. A thorough understanding of the social and economic dynamics at play during agricultural booms requires an examination of their differentiated effects for different groups of the population. An accurate diagnosis of the forces and relations of production at play is a precondition for drawing meaningful policy recommendations. It is argued here that the failure to account for social differentiation and class formation compromises the capacity to understand the foundations and effects of agricultural booms.

The hypotheses have been operationalized in research questions that are presented in detail in Chapter III. Table 1 summarizes the main topics.

Figure 1.1 Main themes examined



### Structure of the thesis

This thesis examines three interlinked themes in the political economy tradition: agrarian change, violence and conflict, and development. Chapters I and II discuss the conceptual underpinnings of different approaches to war and agrarian change. Chapter I examines the literature on the land and labour dynamics of agrarian change, with emphasis on debates about historical tendencies of proletarianization and commodification in Southern Africa and debates about social differentiation and processes of class formation in order to trace the origins and characterize the functioning of the present class structure in contract farming in Angónia.

Chapter II reviews the literature on the economic effects and spatial dynamics of violence and conflict. Both are fields of study that have been at the centre of recent scholarly debates in the fields of political geography and the anthropology

of the state. The chapter draws from these contributions to highlight areas for future conceptualization and research in political economy, but also draws on political economy for a critical examination of their conceptual and methodological underpinnings. Taken as a whole, Chapters I and II underline the linkages between agrarian change and the study of violence and conflict with doctrines and dynamics of development. The literature on Mozambican development examining poverty, rural development, post-conflict reconstruction and the state-building process has largely lost interest in historical processes and tendencies and in the theoretical categories of proletarianization and commodification. Chapters I and II draw attention to the problems of such an epistemological turn and propose ways in which it can be redressed.

Chapter III introduces the research questions more formally and discusses the methodology used in this study. The chapter explains the rationale for the selection of the case study and includes an overview of the district of Angónia. Empirical evidence used throughout the historical chapters, and more pointedly in the chapters discussing the tobacco boom, stems from a household survey implemented during the fieldwork. The design and implementation of the survey are discussed at length.

Chapter IV explores the historical formation of the agrarian regime in Angónia before the civil war. It also situates the experiences of the two oldest cohorts in the survey of tobacco farmers in Angónia (STFA from now on). It reconstructs the creation by the colonial regime of a labour reserve and examines the material and political reasons for this, including population density and spatial isolation. The chapter discusses the dynamics unleashed by poll taxes and forced labour imposed by the Portuguese administration resulting in a tendency towards proletarianization and market dependence.

Chapter V follows the life trajectories of the tobacco farmers in the survey through the period of Mozambican independence and the civil war. The chapter discusses the implications during the post-independence period of the pre-existing social differentiation of the colonial period. The chapter examines the impact of Frelimo's post-independence strategy for the socialization of the countryside and the social and economic effects of the civil war. This chapter

follows the trajectories of social differentiation of the refugee population from Angónia through the wartime period. Thus the chapter reviews the pre-existing differentiation and its consequences for the population during war.

Chapter VI turns to the present agricultural intensification and the tobacco boom. The chapter discusses the drivers and effects in terms of the social organization of production of the post-conflict adoption of tobacco under contract farming. In engaging with the social and historical context in which tobacco emerged, it considers debates on contract farming from a political economy perspective. It closes by proposing an approach focused on the analysis of the totality of the class relations, in contrast with influential streams of the literature that emphasise too simply the struggle between farmers and agribusiness capital.

Chapter VII analyses the results of the survey of tobacco farmers on the organization of production, the use and transfer of land. The chapter discusses the transformation of the land management regime to adapt to the production under contract farming. On the whole Chapter VII demonstrates that the historical process of agrarian change provided the conditions in which the adoption of tobacco became possible.

Chapter VIII traces the shift of Angónia from labour exporter to net labour importer in the post-conflict period. It describes the main labour categories for hired in labour in tobacco farming and discusses how the present labour regime mirrors the experiences that tobacco farmers had as refugees in Malawi.

Chapter IX analyses the results of the survey of producers in order to explain the considerable social differentiation within the sample of tobacco producers. A typology of tobacco producers is proposed on the basis of this evidence. The chapter makes inferences about class formation in Angónia as a whole. A number of criteria for designing a typology of rural classes are discussed and the debate is finally linked to that in Chapters I and VI on the class position of households engaged in contract farming.

The conclusions draw on the core arguments to show that analysis grounded in the historical processes and attentive to the social dynamics of production explains the drivers, pitfalls and likely prospects of agricultural booms in

Mozambique. The chapter shows that dynamics of social differentiation are in operation in the Mozambican countryside, shaping and changing the agrarian structures.



## **Chapter I: Contract farming in Mozambique: a survey of the literature**

This thesis explores the agrarian structure that paved the way for the adoption of tobacco, a high-value export agricultural commodity, in central Mozambique during the post-civil war period. The thesis traces the emergence of a particular agrarian society in the Angónia Highlands starting from the 19<sup>th</sup> century encounter of the matrilineal Chewa, who prospered with the adoption of maize and profited from trading routes to the Indian Ocean, with the patrilineal military groups of Ngoni migrating north from the Transvaal. The tense amalgamation of these groups was the starting point of the agrarian regime examined in this thesis. The next chapters will discuss the foundations of the agrarian structure. These include the spatial processes that pushed outward the frontier of settlement and agriculture; the political and multi-layered process of constructing domination by chieftaincies, private concessionaries and the state; and the way territorial expansion and political consolidation translated into different social relations around production and exchange. The thesis examines the transformations introduced by different stages such as the colonial period, the liberation struggle, the first years of independent statehood and the descent into civil war. It also reconstructs the way the agrarian regime was transformed through the massive forced migration triggered by the war and by the extensive resettlement that occurred when the war came to an end a decade later. All these processes shaped the relations of production and the social relations around the ownership of land and other productive assets. The historical process is invoked as a means to explain the dynamics underlying the contemporary agrarian regime.

During the past two decades Angónia experienced rapid agricultural intensification in the form of a boom of tobacco production. The ensuing transformation was not only triggered by the adoption of a new crop – indeed tobacco was introduced in eight of the 12 provinces of Mozambique, but has largely only prospered in two - but rather by the novel forms of organizing agricultural production and exchange through contract farming. This chapter begins with a brief discussion of how prevailing theoretical frameworks account

for contract farming, its effects and its prospects in Mozambique and in Sub-Saharan Africa. The approach taken in this thesis differs substantially from explanations couched in neoclassical and institutionalist frameworks that prevail in the grey and academic literature on contract farming. These commonly accepted conceptual underpinnings are discussed here in order to demonstrate the limitations of assessments that brush off historical processes and broad social structures. The chapter moves on to introduce a political economy approach to contract farming that itself leads into an examination of the social dynamics of property and production in a historical perspective.

## **1.1. A Political economy of contract farming**

### **1.1.1. Contract farming from utilitarianism to missing markets**

The FAO describes contract farming as:

“An agricultural production system carried out according to an agreement between a buyer and farmers, which establishes conditions for the production and marketing of a farm product or products. Typically, the farmer commits to providing agreed quantities of a specific agricultural product. This should meet the quality standards of the buyer and be supplied at the time that the buyer determines. In turn, the buyer agrees to purchase the product at agreed pricing conditions and, in some cases, to support production through, for example, the supply of farm inputs, land preparation and the provision of technical advice.” (FAO 2012)

Contract farming is a taxonomic category referring to a type of market arrangement. *Empirically*, however, contract farming takes place in very different settings and conditions. A recent survey of contract farming literature in sub-Saharan Africa found schemes consisting exclusively of independent outgrowers and others in which producers were integrated around nucleus estates; contractors can vary in terms of the size of the land-holding, productivity, type of labour employed, whether production units are family-owned and family-operated, etc. Contract farming schemes can range from a few contractors to several thousands. Schemes vary in terms of the relative

intervention of the state, the level of involvement by the buyer and the inbuilt mechanisms to prevent side-selling, when farmers find alternative buyers and fail to comply with the contract signed with the original buyer (UNCTAD 2009, Oya 2012). This considerable variety militates against broad generalizations. For the purposes of this thesis the discussion will focus on contract farming schemes involving small-holder producers and not linked to nucleus estates.

It was estimated that in Mozambique 400,000 farming households were producing under contract in 2003. This amounted to 12 per cent of the rural population at the time and 16 per cent of the farms (IFAD 2003, WB 2005). Despite the demographic salience of contract farming, this form of organizing production and exchange covers only certain crops - most importantly tobacco, cotton, some fresh fruits and vegetables for export and a fraction of the sugar cane produced in the country – and is concentrated in the provinces of central Mozambique. Tobacco is the archetypal contract farming crop in Mozambique: the totality of the leaf is produced in contract farming schemes. In contrast, only a fraction of Malawi's production takes place under farming contracts, although there is a clear regional tendency towards shifting to production in contract farming (Drum 2012, Prowse and Moyer-Lee 2014). The district of Angónia, the case study examined in this thesis, is the epicentre of tobacco production in Mozambique. Tobacco was adopted in Angónia during the mid-1990s, a couple of years after the end of the Mozambican civil war and the return of the refugee population: approximately 90 per cent of the district's population had been displaced to Malawi during the war (Juergensen 1994, 1996b). Tobacco has since expanded rapidly. On the basis of population data and statistics about tobacco growers in the district it is estimated that one in every three households engages in tobacco production under contract in Angónia (MAE 2005, GDA 2012, MLT 2011a, 2011b). Other residents of the district are employed as casual labourers in tobacco and thousands of Malawians and locals are hired every year as seasonal workers. This makes tobacco and contract farming the more generalized form of production in this part of Mozambique.

Table 1.2 Tobacco producing households in Angónia

<i>Population<sup>b</sup></i>		<i>Registered tobacco producers</i>	
<i>Census 2007</i>	<i>Projected 2012<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>Reported 2011<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>Projected 2014<sup>d</sup></i>
335,808	348,989	20,400	23,222

<sup>a</sup> Taking an average household size in the district of 5 (MAE, 2005), between 25 and 33 per cent of the households are engaged in tobacco contract farming.

<sup>b</sup> GDA (2012)

<sup>c</sup> MLT (2011a)

<sup>d</sup> MLT (2011b)

Agricultural production under contract is a widespread type of production arrangement present in most of the world's agricultural sectors. Forms of contract farming akin to those found in contemporary Africa were already in place in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in the Americas, South East Asia and East Africa (Dolan 2005, Ochieng 2010, UNCTAD 2009). However, some authors contend that a broad definition of contract farming allows for the inclusion of production regulated by parastatals and marketing boards, typical of African agricultural sectors in the 1960s and 70s. If the main difference between these and the forms of contract farming that flourished in countries like Mozambique after the 1990s is the nature of the buyer (a state agent vs. private traders) then it follows that contract farming performs some of the market functions of the old parastatals. Little and Watts (1994) and Oya (2012) propose that the expansion of private-led contract farming in Sub-Saharan Africa is a consequence of the reforms introduced by structural adjustment and the liberalization of agriculture. In this case too, the sheer variety of experiences defies attempts at formulating all-encompassing theories of contract farming. However, historical tendencies and continuities as well as evidence of parallels in contract farming in Sub-Saharan Africa can be identified and need to be explained.

#### 1.1.2. Neoclassical and new institutional economics approaches to contract farming in developing countries.

The approaches of mainstream economics to contract farming are not sensitive to the heterogeneity of contract farming arrangements or to the historical contexts in which they emerge. Authors in the neo-classical economics tradition are interested in measuring the total income effect for households participating

in contract farming in order to assess whether governments and agencies should support their expansion as part of poverty reduction strategies (See for example Bellemare 2012, Barnett et al. 2012, Ramaswami et al. 2006, Boughton et al. 2007). But simply estimating the income effect obscures the social context of contract farming and makes for a skewed exercise based on problematic assumptions. Neo-classical economics assumes that farmers and buyers are equal partners in a voluntary bargain and that farmers decide the “quantity” of contract farming they want to “consume” in order to maximize their utility. In this approach initial conditions, power differentials and the social relations of production, which are at the centre of this thesis, are considered irrelevant or unobservable. Individuals are treated as rational maximizers who would simply not enter in a contractual relation if it were exploitative.

By contrast, new institutional economics explains contract farming and other forms of interlocking inputs and output markets as institutional arrangements that arise in order to overcome the market failures prevalent in some African agricultural sectors (Grosh 1994, Minot 2007, Bijman 2008, Benfica 2006). Market failures, missing factor markets (for land, labour and capital) and imperfect or asymmetrical information are postulated as obstacles in the coordination of productive processes. For example, traditional financial institutions are prevented from providing finance for agricultural production because of the small scale of business, the lack of clear property rights over land and the impossibility of using it as collateral for loans raise their transaction costs (Stiglitz 1986, Dorward 2001, Dorward et al. 2005, World Bank 2005, Bijman 2008).

In order to overcome this bottleneck, contract farming schemes allow buyers and traders to assume the function of financial intermediaries playing on the advantage they have over traditional financial institutions of their established link to the producers. Traders are in a better position to monitor repayments and prevent default. Furthermore their role in output markets lowers their unit costs for the provision of thousands of relatively small loans (Boughton et al. 2003, Poulton et al. 1998). From this perspective, contract farming enables the management of the heightened risks and uncertainty that distort or discourage productive processes in export agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa (Grosh 1994,

Prowse 2012). At the same time, it gives smallholder farmers avenues for integration into export markets, access to modern technology and experience of quality-driven production (Porter and Phillips-Howard 1997).

In summary, neo-classical economics is concerned with assessing the welfare effect of contract farming assuming that all parties enter the contract attempting to maximize their utility, whereas new institutional economics sees contract farming as a way of redressing market imperfections. Both approaches are open to discussing whether contract farming is welfare-enhancing or not, but are loath to consider differentiated outcomes in which contract farming does not result in a win-win scenario for both buyers and producers. Neither neo-classical nor new institutional economics conceive of contract farming as a site of class exploitation (Oya 2012).

In the light of this case study there are several problems in these conceptualizations of contract farming. The neo-classical approach cannot account for the asymmetric power differentials evident in contract farming. In Mozambique the contract pitches the largest multinational leaf-buying corporation against thousands of individual tobacco farmers. The farmers find it difficult to bargain for better conditions in the contracts because each unit is expendable and easily replaceable. Producers are in weak structural position vis-à-vis the company. The tobacco company favours the fragmentation of the contracts making collective action difficult and costly for producers and unionization next to impossible for workers. The mobilization of thousands of small units also gives the tobacco company great flexibility to respond to changes in demand for tobacco. Contracted production also allows capital to control and regularize supply and calibrate prices. However, there are considerable power differentials in the sphere of production too. Contract farming demands the mobilization of the labour force of farmers and their households, as well as that of hired labour, creating conflicting interests in the sphere of production. Furthermore, the assumption that farmers are free to opt out of contract farming is formally correct, but brushes off the context in which farmers “decide” to enter contracts. The latitude of agents needs to be qualified in contexts in which there are no meaningful sources of off-farm employment,

spot markets for other commodities are less developed or households are under stress (Banaji 2003).

New institutionalist economics identifies contract farming as a market fix that ultimately allows capital to penetrate in regions in which capitalist institutions, such as private property rights and financial markets, do not exist or are not functioning. However, as this case study shows, the outcomes of contract farming cannot be summarized simply in terms of the ‘social’ management of risk and the market integration of producers. Contract farming transforms the way surplus is extracted and appropriated, creating more complex relations of production. Much of what is presented as the reduction of risk amounts simply to agribusiness capital shifting the risks of production onto the contract farmers. And because production frequently requires more labour than what it is available in the household, contract farming transforms the producer into a manager of family and hired-in labour. The contradictory interests of workers, farmers and agribusiness capital in contract farming multiply the loci of struggle in production. The outcome of these struggles is not predetermined and the benefits of the productive fix are not reaped equally.

#### 1.1.3. A critique of the contract farming literature

A more convincing account of contract farming emerges from elements mentioned above. First, initial conditions are crucial and it cannot be assumed that ‘agents’ are all equal. This differentiation refers, for example, to the existence of entry barriers for the adoption of tobacco; to the different conditions in which households enter production contracts, such as the size and quality of their landholdings, the quantity of labour power available in the household, the size of the household and its ratio of dependence, the property of productive assets, the availability of labour saving techniques, etc. But it is not merely the synchronic snapshot of households that tilts their prospects in contract farming in one direction or another, but also their different accumulation trajectories: the age of different members of the household, their productive trajectory, their history of accumulation and crisis, the existence of kin and community networks

from which they can draw or to which they contribute and the differentiated impact of political processes, such as the shock of forced migration.

Second, the historical context of adoption must be taken into consideration. Households experience pressures as a result of their own productive cycle and of social and historical processes. Contract farming is shaped by characteristics of the agrarian structure: whether land is available for expanding production; whether there are alternative sources of off-farm employment and other income generation activities available; whether there are avenues for accumulation other than in contract farming. In his overview of regional agrarian regimes in coffee and tea in Kenya, Orvis (1993) observed that areas in which households could accumulate by clearing land were less likely to engage in other income diversification strategies such as off-farm employment; areas experiencing land scarcity but without access to wages high enough to allow investment were dominated by households that depended both on farming and on occasional wage labour for their reproduction; whereas areas with land scarcity but access to significant off-farm employment allowed 'straddling' households to reproduce themselves on the basis of their agricultural production but use their wages to invest and accumulate. Wilson (1986) also observed that contract farming was typically found among undercapitalized peasantries if labour was abundant. Thus, the context in which it takes place manifestly shapes the character of contract farming. Both Orvis and Wilson point to dynamics that are present in Angónia, as the following chapters will show.

Finally, contract farming encompasses a complex matrix of relations of production. There is a tendency in the mainstream literature (and strands of political economy literature less sensitive to social differentiation) to think of contract farming in Africa predominantly as a relation between farmers and buyers, dismissing the importance of dynamics of labour mobilization within the household and outside it. The labour *hiring* dynamics are, for example, a blind spot in the seminal work of Little and Watts (1994). Labour mobilization by contract farmers is a central element of this analysis and is explored conceptually in the following section.



#### 1.1.4. The political economy approach to contract farming

Political economy accounts of contract farming conceive it as an arrangement that under certain conditions allows the incorporation of land and labour into production at lower costs to capital than alternative forms of organizing production. Engaging in contract farming, agribusiness capital found a useful market fix: “for highly labour intensive crops (...) contract farming enabled agrifood capital to gain access to cheap southern smallholder labour supply while meeting stringent quality standards- without incurring the risks of direct investment or the social costs associated with direct employment” (Gibbon and Ponte 2005, 149). While in other production models, such as estates and plantations, capital is in control of production, it also needs to advance the costs of buying land, of enforcing property rights as well as the costs of recruiting and disciplining labour. In this model, the risks intrinsic to agricultural production (price volatility, failed harvest, climatic shocks, labour unrest, etc.) fall on the estate-owners. In contrast, in contract farming all these costs and risks are transferred to the producers. In historical perspective contract farming allows for the extension of capitalist relations of production in the countryside without producing the generalized enclosure of land and the creation of a class of landless producers.

The political economy approach to contract farming has contributed to exposing the conceptual limitations derived from failing to consider power relations and exploitation. To begin with, an array of case studies and analysis in the political economy tradition has demonstrated that contract farming can serve political purposes, especially in comparison to the alternative, the plantation model. For example, contract farming allows capital to avoid the political costs of releasing land for investment in cases where this would entail the dispossession of local producers; credit in contract farming can be used as a form of political patronage or as a means of appeasing political unrest. Studies have also shed light on the role of the state in creating and sustaining the conditions for contract farming. In some cases politicians that support the creation of contract farming schemes can use this as a vehicle for consolidating a political constituency and garnering electoral support (Ochieng 2010, Oya 2012).

By allowing capital to avoid direct hiring and management of labour, contract farming could be a way to elude compliance with labour laws; to deter the collective organization of the labour force and to dissolve unions (Sachikonye 1989). When agricultural firms are in charge of production they incur the costs of monitoring workers. By outsourcing to contract farmers the onus of disciplining labour falls on the farmer, and the labour being disciplined in this case may be the farmer's own labour, the household's labour or hired-in labour (Dolan 2005). An alternative is the Chayanovian concept of self-exploitation claiming that peasant households do not calculate the costs of reproducing their own labour, in contrast with capitalists using fully proletarianized labour, who are forced to acknowledge reproduction costs through wages (Kitching 1980, Bernstein 2010).

In the case of female labour, mainstream economics assumes that there is a unitary household, in which all members share the same interests and take decisions as a unit. In the case of contract farming this means that the pressure for 'disciplining' takes the form of self-disciplining, the household's regulation of its own labour effort. Political economy and feminist economics have rejected this paradigm, making it clear that exploitation is mediated by uneven gender and age power balances within households (Guyer and Peters 1987, O'Laughlin 1995, Silberschmidt 1999, Bardhan and Udry 1999).

For some theorists of small-holder farming, self-disciplining (or as discussed, intra-household exploitation) results in higher labour productivity and in cheaper produce being sourced from contract farming households, in comparison to that of plantations or large-scale agricultural production, which incur labour monitoring costs. This is because the household would be the direct *residual claimant* (Deiniger and Feder 1998, Griffin et al. 2002). As a whole, the direct exploitation of employees in the plantation model (through wages) is replaced with the indirect exploitation of household labour (through prices to the producer). Contract farming can thus result in the *intensification* of the labour process both for former estate workers and for commodity producers farming autonomously and selling in spot markets. However, it has been observed that contract farming can also result in an *expansion* of the labour footprint. Dolan's work on contract farming in Kenya (2007) shows how contract farming

amounted to the mobilization of female labour into the direct production of export commodities for the first time. This implies that commodity relations expand *socially*, redefining gender, seniority and kin relations and involving members of the household that had not been involved in commodity production; and *spatially*, to reach areas hitherto marginalized from commodity and labour markets. It also means that although the relation is not always mediated by wages, contract farming signals the increasing commodification of labour.

Seen from this perspective, contract farming looks less like an arrangement between producers and buyers and more like a way of externalizing labour-related costs. This has led some authors to propose that the position of contract farmers in relation to agribusiness capital can be described as that of quasi-employees. Little and Watts claim that: “contract farming disguises a wage relationship between buyer and grower, so that peasants are relegated to being hired hands on their own land. While the contract promotes an appearance (“ideology”) of autonomy, its objective is to subjugate labour rather than to enhance the independence of farmers” (1994, 16).

The realization that - despite producing on their own land and not being directly employed in estates - farmers under contract are in reality selling the labour contained in the commodity traded, has led some scholars to characterize contract farmers as ‘proletarians in disguise’ and to refer to contract farming as a way of accelerating proletarianization without dispossession (Clapp 1994, Watts 1994).

However, there are reasons that militate against the conception of contract farmers as disguised proletarians. First, while processes of proletarianization do not necessarily imply the dispossession of direct producers, it is necessary to unpack the role that ownership of the means of production in specific has in cases of contract farming. The fact that direct producers have access to land complicates the enquiry about which mechanisms push them into engaging in contract farming. The argument that contract farming turns peasants into ‘disguised proletarians’ entails its own antithesis: in an agrarian regime with no legal obligation to work there is no reason why subsistence farmers who own land for agricultural production would voluntarily abandon their livelihoods. The

premise that does not work in the application of such a thesis to contract farming in sub-Saharan Africa is that contract farming is not engaging with an undifferentiated, subsistence-oriented peasantry.

For example, producers in the Mozambican case had long lost the capacity to reproduce themselves outside market relations, and market dependence had set in motion a process of social differentiation. While Bernstein points out that by the end of colonial rule the commodification of production and reproduction was complete in most of Southern Africa (2010, 55), in the Mozambican case study a very long history of labour migration and commodification had produced this same effect several decades before (see Chapter IV). So contract farming engages with an array of social groups: directly with a groups of producers that remain in possession of their land but that depend on the production of commodities in the market and indirectly with the workers these producers hire, which for the most part also have access to land, but have lost the ability to reproduce themselves as farmers only.

In contract farming many groups of farmers coexist: the more successful farmers have used tobacco as an avenue of accumulation, bought land to expand production, produce on the basis of wage labour and reinvest their proceeds (mills, setting up a business). These farmers are good examples of incipient capitalist farmers. There are farmers that use the land they inherited or rent additional land, use predominantly the labour power of the members of the household and occasionally hire casual workers. They attempt to accumulate through tobacco but mostly use proceeds for reproduction (buying clothing, building a house). Another group of farmers is constrained to using their own labour power and may occasionally need to sell their labour power to stay afloat. In addition to types of farmers, contract farming in tobacco also involves other classes of agricultural labour: casual and seasonal workers and tenants. This social differentiation implies that while indeed, some farmers find in tobacco contract farming an effective avenue for accumulation and many have benefitted from the tobacco boom, there are thousands of others that adopted tobacco as the only viable avenue to generate the cash income they require to reproduce themselves as farmers but are not accumulating; and still other groups for whom tobacco is one among a range of income generation activities, who are

constantly at risk of defaulting and despite having access to land, struggle to secure subsistence in agriculture.

The second caveat is that contract farmers in this study, as in many others, hire workers and engage tenants. In work on contract farming in the Zimbabwean Masvingo, Sachikonye (1989) points out that although the relation between merchant capital and outgrowers may be structurally exploitative, it would be inaccurate to conceive of outgrowers as a variation of proletarianized estate labour force, because surplus appropriation by the buyers is done via prices and contractual conditions. By hiring wage labour it is the contract farmer who extracts surplus labour from the workers, and in the relation with tenants, the contract farmer is the landlord. Their effective control of the means of production and, more importantly, their overwhelming hiring-in of labour (more on this in the following chapters) indicates that their position in the emerging agrarian structure is more complex than that of wage labour equivalents.

This obfuscation of class relations, in terms of ‘who exploits who’ and ‘who is exploited’ is referred to in the following chapters as a class structure defined by recursive exploitation: merchant capital exploits classes of tobacco farmers via prices and appropriates their surplus product; farmers themselves as a class exploit their hired-in labour and expropriate their surplus labour. These relations are not exclusive to contract farming. Forms of recursive exploitation characterize agrarian capitalism in many social formations in Sub-Saharan Africa in which tendencies towards proletarianization did not result in the outright separation of producers from the means of production.

Writing about Kenya’s agrarian structure, Gavin Kitching proposes that two social groups, those who are the source of the appropriation of surplus labour power, and those who appropriate it, are not mutually exclusive in Kenya. Officials, employees in the formal sector, estate workers, people with access to off-farm labour consistently use their wages to hire agricultural workers. This is the case because groups that derive the bulk of their income from wages remain in possession of the means of production. Kitching therefore questions the applicability of class analysis to the Kenyan case, referring in this case to the abstract ideal-types used in Marx’s *Capital* that postulate a clear cut separation

of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on the basis of their distinct access to the means of production and ensuing position in the production process. Kitching argues that class analysis needs to be adapted to this context by accounting for different forms in which surplus product is appropriated, in the sphere of production – as farmers appropriate surplus labour from workers – as well as in the sphere of circulation – as merchant capital accumulates surplus product from the tobacco farmers (1980, 450).

Kitching's and Orvis' definitions of what constitutes 'class analysis' are profoundly different. While for Kitching, Marxist class analysis is not a taxonomy of social groups, but an interest in "isolating the mechanisms by which the product of labour power [...] is transferred between groups, and by which accumulation of money and the means of production is accomplished" (1980, 454). Furthermore, exploitation does not rest merely on the capacity of a group "to appropriate surplus product which others produce" but in controlling "the conditions under which another class can produce" (443). In contrast for Orvis, class formation is the process by which "peasant communities become divided into distinct landed and landless groups" (1997, 92).

## **1.2. Proletarianization as a historical tendency**

### **1.2.1. Market compulsion and market dependence as historical processes**

Both the compulsion mechanisms and social differentiation that are at the basis of the functioning of the contract farming scheme are the result of a long process of social transformation resulting from the expansion and articulation of capitalism in Southern Africa. From this historical perspective, contract farming is only the form that the long process of proletarianization and commodification takes in a period that combines agricultural liberalization and post-conflict peace-building. In this sense contract farming represents less a break with the past and more the systemic adaptation of the agrarian structure to changing local and global dynamics. This thesis traces the history of the present agrarian structure.

An enquiry about the mechanisms that bind farmers and workers to selling labour time and commodities within contract farming schemes ultimately leads to the broader question of why and how the autonomous Mozambican peasantry of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century was transformed into the contemporary array of differentiated groups intervening in production of commodities for export. Works in political economy coincide in underscoring the foundational role of the political and economic expansion of the colonial project in Africa during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, which resulted in the coercive economic integration of the peasantry in the form of forced labour, poll taxes, forced cultivation or combinations of the above (Bernstein 2010; O’Laughlin 2002, 2013; Arrighi 1970).

Creating conditions for the integration of African subjects to the colonial accumulation project resulted in the expansion of the writ of markets. In some cases this amounted to the extension of pre-existing networks and in other cases trade and consumption were revolutionized with the introduction of new goods and routes (Sender and Smith 1986, Illife 1995, Nugent 2008, Howard 2010). The importance of commercialization is undeniable in order to explain the progressive capitalist penetration of African hinterlands. However, the extension of markets and the cash economy cannot alone explain why a peasantry that largely remained in possession of the means of production and subsistence would feel compelled to produce commodities or sell their labour power even after forced labour and poll taxes were repealed. The chain of causality here resulted from a combination of social conflict and spatial and material determinants. These measures unsettled rural livelihoods and elicited much resistance, but were implemented differently throughout colonial Mozambique, attending to the authority that the administration or the concessionary companies commanded as well as to the prevailing conditions of production in the different regions.

The reaction of the population to these measures took different forms: the peasantry forced to cultivate cotton in Nampula found surreptitious ways to sabotage production (Isaacman, 1996); peasants in Zambézia forcibly mobilised as workers in sugar cane plantations and sugar mills on the lower Zambezi turned to strategic absenteeism and took up commercial copra production on

their own land (Head 1980, Vail and White 1980); a group of peasants in Niassa retreated to a secluded mountain and cut all links to the colonial economic sphere (O’Laughlin 2002). In the case of early 20<sup>th</sup> century Angónia, migration to the uninhabited lowlands in the southwest of the district was linked by a retired colonial official who took part in tax polls in the late 1950s - interviewed as part of this research - to avoiding taxation and labour recruitment. Moreover, until the 1950s the district lacked trading and transport networks to market agricultural produce and the only viable way to avoid forced labour and still get hold of the cash needed to pay the taxes was periodic long-distance labour migration to the neighbouring British colonies and protectorates to work in mines and plantations. Therefore, the characteristics of the groups onto which forced commodification was imposed and the balance of power between the colonial administration, its private agents and the peasantry, weighed greatly in shaping the final outcome.

The strategies deployed by the peasantry to defend their autonomy and way of life from the disruptive effects of forced labour and taxation resulted deliberately or inadvertently in a deeper engagement with markets for commodities and labour (as in the Zambézia and Angónia examples, O’Laughlin 2002). Labour became progressively commodified; that is, first it became a possibility and later on a necessity to migrate or work locally for wages. Land and other means necessary for agricultural production also became engulfed in market relations – very early on in the case of tools and inputs and more slowly in the case of land and agricultural credit. This resulted both in the social differentiation of the peasantry and in the more intense use of the factors of production.

At the end of the Mozambican civil war (1977-1992) refugees returned to Mozambique with the intention of reconstructing livelihoods that had long been based on periodic long-distance labour migration. The reconstruction effort was centred on the rehabilitation of agricultural systems and did not result in the restoration of the sources of off-farm employment. Farmers had access to the land and labour was abundant, but many producers were critically undercapitalized and there were few market outputs for agricultural produce functioning in Angónia. This is the context in which agribusiness capital introduced contract farming in the region.



The long process that led producers to become dependent on the market for their reproduction was driven by historical experiences of commodification and proletarianization. The following chapters trace the host of historical changes experienced since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century in Mozambique set in motion by the – frequently violent – implementation of forced labour and taxation; causing resistance and avoidance strategies on the part of the population; the counter-reaction of the colonial administration and private sector employers. The remainder of this section will discuss the possibilities and limitations of using concepts such as proletarianization and commodification to account for agricultural transformation in central Mozambique.

#### 1.2.2. Towards a working definition of the concept of proletarianization

Proletarianization is a conceptual category that has generated some resistance in the scholarship on Mozambique over the last two decades (O’Laughlin 2002). Here it is not intended to be understood in the teleological sense that there is an unavoidable tendency in capitalism for all producers to become separated (freed) from the means of production, but rather – and drawing from O’Laughlin’s definition – a protracted process of social change whereby the production of commodities becomes a necessary rather than a discretionary component of rural livelihoods; rural production becomes reoriented towards global markets; labour progressively becomes a commodity; and the conditions are created to enable capital to exploit labour (2002, 516). This provides for a more workable definition of proletarianization that suits the Mozambican case.

Bernstein proposes that in developing countries processes of commodification tend to produce semi-proletarianization, that is, the incomplete and uneven separation of producers from the means of production more often than full proletarianization (2010, 55). Kitching argued earlier along similar lines that the rural class structure in Kenya had not produced a class of hirers of labour in clear opposition to a class of sellers of labour power (1980, 453). Bernstein and O’Laughlin coincide in pointing out that the advance of capitalism in African agriculture does not require and does not always entail the creation of a proletariat, as observed in contemporary European agriculture by Djurfeldt

(1981). Moreover, Sender and Smith (1990) and Bernstein (2010) argue that the advance of capitalism in agriculture was inherently uneven, reinforcing and amplifying pre-existing differences (2010).

It has also been pointed out that the incomplete separation has been functional to the development of capitalism by allowing capital to lower the labour costs of production. The mobilization of semi-proletarianized and migrant labour can result in lower wages, because capital can shift the costs of reproduction of these workers to their farming households. Labour reserves reabsorb workers when they are incapacitated for work or in the periods in which they are not needed by capital; moreover, household farming becomes responsible for providing for children and for the elderly, for preparing new contingent of workers, etc. (O’Laughlin 2013).

But semi-proletarianization was not in every case the artifice of capitalist intent on exploiting workers. In their work on development doctrines in 20<sup>th</sup> century colonial administration in West Africa, Cowen and Shenton show how the colonial authorities attempted to protect African peasants from what they saw as the imminent risk of impoverishment through land dispossession by precluding private property over land and blocking the access to commercial credit: “The private alienation of land was deliberately constrained as part of a policy to maintain small producers on the land to guarantee their own means of subsistence” (1991, 28). Sometimes this was done less to protect the means of subsistence of the population and more to forestall competition: “Restrictions on the scale of private holdings blocked the development of an African commercial farming class that would compete with plantations, settler farms and mines for labour, while access to land in the reserves prevented the development of a landless proletariat” (O’Laughlin 2000, 15). What is remarkable in these cases is that the measures taken by colonial authorities and the resistance strategies of communities failed to contain the advance of proletarianization, but more importantly prevented African peasants from taking part in the new economic order, from learning how to work the system and, in doing so, in many cases undermined the chances for the emergence of classes of entrepreneurs and accumulators from within the peasantry.

This is a paradox of exploitation that farmers in Angónia grappled with. The eldest among the respondents in this study were subjected to forced labour and undertook long-distance labour migration. They described the violence involved in the forced labour regime and the harsh conditions that awaited those who escaped it by crossing the border for wages in Nyasaland or Rhodesia. But when asked about the reasons why they did not attempt to avoid forced labour and taxation by resettling out of the reach of the colonial authorities, one of the respondents noted that despite the hardship of labour migration, it was those that migrated who could later on buy clothes, watering cans and tools. Those that stayed behind ‘ended up having nothing’.

As imported manufactured products such as textiles became cheaper, they displaced goods that households used to produce domestically. For this respondent it was remarkable that the escapees continued to produce traditional robes made of tree bark. For others in Angónia having access to textiles, cooking oil, soap, etc. had become the new acceptable level of subsistence. These things were denied to those without access to cash. Kitching calls these changes in patterns of consumption “the ‘socially-given’ level of subsistence” (1985, 448).

Engaging with the markets entailed the erosion of traditional livelihoods and meant in most cases exploitation as wage workers or commodity producers dependent on market exchanges for survival. The problem, as will be discussed later, is that as much as capitalist relations of production and exchange were more exploitative, they could also be more efficient in their use of the factors of production. Considering the propensity towards social differentiation that results from processes of commodification, it follows that marketization resulted in opportunities for accumulation for some farmers. The adoption throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century of high-value export agricultural commodities and the commodity booms in Africa provide many examples of the emergence and consolidation of classes of farmers who embraced the production of commodities, profited from periods of good international prices, accumulated and reinvested. Accumulating farmers became small capitalist entrepreneurs, much as in the Mozambican case, reinvested proceeds, bought land and exploited hired labour. This was possible in most cases because farmers had accumulated an investible fund to kick-start their production of export commodities. The cocoa migrant farmers of Akwapim

described by Hill had previously produced palm oil and used their investment fund to move into cocoa. This entailed buying land and sustaining their households until the investment in cocoa yielded (1963). The first tea and coffee adopters of Kiisi described by Orvis had an investment fund resulting from their off-farm employment (1997, 2003); the tobacco farmers of Angónia had a long trajectory as migrant labourers and estate farmers as will be discussed in Chapter V.

### **1.3. Conclusion**

To summarize, the concept of proletarianization used in this thesis rejects the notion that there is one single and inescapable outcome of the process, ultimately leading to the emergence of a fully proletarianized agricultural workforce in developing countries. Drawing on O’Laughlin, it instead argues that proletarianization has been a historical tendency in Southern Africa with outcomes that are contingent on specific local histories of exploitation and resistance. This process takes place in a socially produced space and within limits created by the material conditions of production. Second, the transformations introduced by dynamics of proletarianization are mediated by social differentiation and inherently uneven. The separation of producers from the means of production is rarely completed in the Mozambican case today. Moreover, even during the period of intensive labour migration, the people from Angónia were not fully proletarianized. Although their reproduction as farmers depended on their wages as migrants, their viability as migrant labour also depended on the reproductive work of their households.

Nevertheless, semi-proletarianization, or the incomplete separation from the means of production has not been a hindrance for capitalist penetration and on the contrary, this incompleteness, translated into households that assume the costs of reproducing the labour force, was functional to colonial capitalism. Furthermore, the incomplete separation continues to shape the terms of articulation of Mozambican farmers to capitalist agriculture today in the case of contract farming schemes. Semi-proletarianization lowers the labour costs for farmers that hire migrant workers. Finally, the outcome of proletarianization

depends on the contingent ways in which it is enforced, resisted, confronted and in some cases taken advantage of.

In Mozambique former migrant workers are transformed within contract farming into commodity producers, most of whom hire casual and seasonal workers. In the process of incorporating household labour and hired in labour in commodity production, contract farming gives capital the means to exploit labour locally and globally by mobilizing social structures. Contract farming is one of many forms of non-equity participation in production whereby capital can source commodities globally without intervening directly in its production (UNCTAD 2009). From the perspective of the history of labour and property relations in Mozambique, contract farming can be seen as an institutional arrangement that allows global agribusiness capital to reach deep into an agricultural and labour frontier. The following chapter introduces to the discussion of spatial relations and war as necessary coordinates to understand the contemporary agrarian structure in Angónia.

## **Chapter II: War in a borderland: historical processes and spatial relations in the political economy of war**

Capitalist relations of production, exchange and consumption advance unevenly on different social formations. The historical trajectory of such advance has effects that are context-specific and dynamics whose drivers and mechanisms cannot be explained by any putative general theory of capitalism (Bernstein 2010). This is true of the particular forms of labour and property regimes in Southern Africa, which are not only notably different to those of, for instance, Latin America, South Asia and the former Soviet Republics, but are quite different from each other. Attempts at generalization are problematic both in discussions about Southern Africa and debates about Mozambique (Cramer et. al. 2008). Often the analysis of research about a specific region in Mozambique is presented as valid for the whole of Mozambique. Similarly, conceptual fads are transposed into the study of Mozambique with little awareness of historical specificity and, therefore, of their relevance.

This dissertation studies a district that is to a large extent an outlier both spatially and historically. The study of such a district highlights the insufficiencies of mainstream analytical frameworks that account for the process of development in Mozambique. However, this study was not designed to illustrate an exceptional case, but rather to exemplify the limitations of overly generalized uses of theory. The district of Angónia provides a case that is emblematic of dynamics that much of the scholarship of recent decades chose to abandon: the historical study of processes of social differentiation and class formation. Taking this kind of approach to the case of Angónia generates insights with implications for other Mozambican borderlands and labour reserves through war and peace and contributes to expanding the study of the social dynamics of armed conflict beyond the Mozambican case. A study of the dynamics unleashed by war in the district of Angónia could trace parallels between this experience and the many refugee emergencies of the post-colonial world. However, the approach chosen here is set apart from the rights-based, entitlements or cost-benefit analyses of humanitarian emergencies, opting instead to explore how war dynamics refract and modulate longer term processes of socio-economic change.

Angónia is located in the geographical periphery of Mozambique, on the international border with Malawi. It has a long history of intense labour migration and as a result it experienced an accelerated integration into markets for labour and commodities (these two dynamics are referred to throughout this dissertation as processes of proletarianization and commodification). Furthermore, Angónia was a district in which the war was experienced in its full intensity and where the majority of the population was forcibly displaced to Malawi. The socio-economic dynamics of war and displacement in Angónia relate therefore to the experiences of other ‘warscapes’ sharing the historical salience of wage employment, remittances and commercial agriculture. Other examples of such ‘warscapes’ include El Salvador, Urabá in the Colombia-Panama borderland, the Pamir mountains in Tajikistan, Uige in the Angola-DRC borderland (Unruh and Williams 2013, Brown 2013, Paige 1978). The use of analytical frameworks that presume that rural producers are best described as peasants engaged mainly in subsistence agriculture is not suited to the study of the dynamics of armed conflict in these types of region. This chapter surveys conceptual tools and theoretical frameworks for the study of war and the production of space in the long-term transformation of social relations of property and production.

## **2.1. Socio-economic dynamics and the political economy of war**

Violence, conflict and warfare are among the oldest subjects of study in social sciences. The changing ways in which social sciences have accounted for war mirror the twists and turns of paradigms; register emerging disciplines and sub-disciplines; and have been transformed in accordance with different theoretical frameworks and conceptual accents (as well as adapted to the explanatory demands of different regions, histories and social formations). This has been the case, of course, in the scholarship on sub-Saharan Africa and on Mozambique: the violent history of polities and trade routes, the slave trade, colonial penetration, the liberation struggle and civil war; all have been at the centre of scholarly interest and consequently have become important elements in accounts of society and change in Mozambique.

### 2.1.1. The many registers of the study of war

The history of war and violence in post-colonial Mozambique has had many registers. Scholars have analyzed the process leading to the creation of Renamo and the onset of the Mozambican civil war. Similarly, the causal mechanisms building up to the war have been explained as an example of Cold War proxy conflicts in the developing world and as part of the Southern Africa regional struggle for democracy and against minority rule (Hanlon 1984, Minter 1994, Abrahamsson and Nilsson 1995). The Mozambican war has also been studied in the context of the Mozambican post-independence political settlement; of the tensions that arose in the state-building process; of the failed attempts by Frelimo and Renamo to extend their authority and legitimacy over the vast national territory (Hall and Young 1997).

The history of the war itself has been studied: its different regional dynamics, everyday life accounts, the ebb and flow of insurgency through central Mozambique and outwards and the profound humanitarian crisis it caused. Other work has examined the changing strategies of Renamo and Frelimo as they advanced or stalled, gained and lost critical support and in reaction to changes in regional geopolitics (Dinnerman 2007, Nordstrom 1997). Other studies of the Mozambican civil war also examined the violent dispossession of vast tracts of land and control of the mobility or immobility of the population (Lubkemann 2010).

### 2.1.2. War and the agrarian structure

This dissertation is concerned with a different approach to the study of war. Here the analytical lens is on the effects of war dynamics on the long term development of the relations of production. This way of looking at the Mozambican civil war does not start empirically from the war itself but rather from social relations around property and production in the longer term and is interested in the way the process of war may have modulated or refracted the process of social differentiation and class formation. This kind of political economy of violence and war also stands apart from theoretical assumptions shared by studies of war couched in the tradition of neoclassical economics, as



well as anthropological studies of war in Mozambique. First, it rejects the possibility of explaining the war and its effects in conceptual isolation from the social formation in which it took place. It is argued here that although armed conflicts and wars are periods of abrupt change and political upheaval, war is not a theoretical exceptionality: social scientists need not surrender their conceptual tool kit and turn to a different analytical arsenal geared for the study of war. Second, the presumption that wars are best understood as the opposite of development, that is, merely as societal destruction, is examined critically. Cramer argues that “the liberal interpretation of war (...) cannot conceive of violent conflict as a source of class formation (especially not of capitalist classes)” (2008, 121). Indeed work in political economy has documented the ways in which the effects of war-related violence (the disruption of production, the violence-induced separation of producers from the means of production, pillaging, raiding, dispossession and destruction, the collapse of trading networks and markets) changes the employment dynamics and transforms livelihoods, sometimes very abruptly, in ways that have long-term consequences for the social relations of production and for social differentiation. These dynamics can - and should - be studied (See Chingono 1996, Keene 1994).

A nascent political economy critique of war claims that the destructive nature of wartime violence is not socially inconsequential nor does it take place in a social vacuum: destruction and disarray are experienced by individuals and groups engaged in dynamic social relations and the effects of war are manifested, not in abstract, but in those relations. It is necessary for scholarship to engage with the consequences of such transformations rather than disregarding them based on the assumption that war entails only destruction. Historically-informed appraisals of war processes, approaches capable of situating war in the longer trajectory of changing social relations are able to see beyond the chaos and disarray of war into dynamics of accelerated redefinition and violent renegotiation of social relations. Social relations provide an underlying floor of causation, but the reification of social relations or capitalism results in functionalist teleology. As Cramer has argued, wars are not fought *by* capitalism (2006). This applies to this case study: the warring parties did not set out to wage the war in order to accelerate proletarianization nor to appropriate land.

But the armed conflict had a long-term impact on the stratification of producers and on the relation between social groups that amounted to the intensification of pre-existing pressures towards commodification and proletarianization.

### 2.1.3. A political economy of war framework in the study of the Angónia case

This dissertation proposes that the impact of war in Angónia resulted in an amplification of social differentiation. The explanatory mechanism will be discussed in detail in Chapters V and VIII, but it can be briefly summarized as follows: by the time the Mozambican civil war reached the district of Angónia in the early 1980s, the population of the district was socially differentiated between groups of agricultural producers that were compelled to sell part of their labour power, petty commodity producers dependent on the sale of agricultural products, in markets and larger agricultural producers that employed labourers on a regular basis. The reproduction of farming households across all groups was formally dependent on intense interactions with markets and their different position (as net sellers or net hirers) in the labour market. This had been the result of almost a century of sustained extra-economic pressures (in the form of taxes and forced labour) that had the effect – direct and indirect - of curtailing the productive autonomy of the population. However, throughout the period, and owing to the particular demands of capital on labour in Southern Africa, migrant workers from Angónia remained in possession of the land and their households continued being largely devoted to agriculture. Long-distance labour migration introduced a pressure towards proletarianization, but did not produce outright proletarians: it was in the interest of capital to preclude the formation of a fully proletarianized labour force in favour of a contingent of migrant labourers, whose costs of reproduction could be shifted to their households and regions of origin.

The regional and national processes unleashed by independence and Frelimo's socialist project came as an abrupt production shock to Angónia: sources of long-distance employment dwindled and the commercialization networks dried up. However, despite the massive impact of the crisis on the population of

Angónia, the fact that the population remained in possession of agricultural land allowed the rural population of Angónia to retreat to subsistence agriculture. This resulted, however, in a dramatic - and in the long run unsustainable - deterioration of the living conditions of different categories of producers in the district. But a few years later the violence of the war between Renamo and Frelimo completely tipped the balance: the population of Angónia was forced into massive displacement to Malawi not merely by the sheer impact of violence, but because economies of subsistence were not viable under these conditions. For over a decade, most of the population lived as refugees in neighbouring Malawi. This entailed for the first time the full separation of producers from the means of production. This separation resulted formally and functionally in a process of complete - yet temporary - proletarianization: the Mozambican refugees from Angónia became war-time proletarians. This analysis of the implications of wartime forced migration differs completely from mainstream approaches of refugee studies, but also political economy has largely ignored the structural socio-economic impact of humanitarian emergencies. Cramer argues that the political economy of war has largely ignored the potential of forced displacement to create new entrants to the labour force via the dispossession of the means of production (2006, 2008).

In their attempt to escape refugee settlements, an important proportion of the refugee population engaged in forms of income generation and in wage-employment, especially in tobacco plantations in central Malawi. When refugees left the settlements their whole subsistence depended on selling their labour power and for the first time households from Angónia did not produce any food and depended fully on food bought in the market. Cramer (2008) has highlighted the need to study conditions of labour under war and the possibility of recruiting refugees as 'cheap labour'. In the case of Angónia it is evident that the participation in tobacco production as labourers and tenants was a distress response on the part of refugees. That participation in labour markets was distressful rather than an option is made evident by the fact that the vast majority of refugees returned to Angónia at the first possible instance. They were not too concerned with leaving behind their jobs, and on the contrary eager to regain their autonomy as producers. Only a minority that prospered or married in

Malawi had an incentive to remain. Wage labour and other income generation activities had the effect of amplifying social differentiation. As will be discussed in Chapter V, the Malawian employers knew full well that refugees were ideal migrant workers, with no land or other fall-back options. In this respect war mimicked the colonial spatial fix that allowed capital to extract surplus value from semi-proletarian migrants, or – as has been noted before – war solved capital's recruitment problems (in this case Malawian agribusiness capital) (O'Laughlin 1996).

Contrary to what most theory on post-conflict land restitution would predict, the return of refugees to Angónia was not particularly fraught with conflict (Clover 2005, Unruh and Williams 2013, Unruh 2001). This was the case because Angónia was throughout the war an area of high intensity warfare and there was no massive relocation or groups occupying the land left behind by those who fled. But it was also the case for reasons that escape war and violence theorists with limited interest in the agrarian dynamics of war, namely that land used in rain-fed non-mechanised agriculture is not a readily usable productive asset: the preparation of a plot for production requires a substantial investment in labour time to clear and till fields. Rarely is this work possible using the labour power available in a single household. Even crops that are less labour-intensive such as maize require hired-in help for the most demanding and time sensitive tasks. Farming households need access to an investment fund in food or cash to reproduce the household during the agricultural season and to mobilize labour. Food stocks are not easily transportable, so occupying abandoned land would require the functioning of maize markets to source the households' basic food requirements. What emerges from this description is that occupying land abandoned by fleeing refugees is not as simple as the literature portrays it (see, for example, Unruh and Williams 2013). So whereas it has become routine for conflict studies in Africa to treat land as a readily lootable productive asset, a more careful analysis shows that the incorporation of land into production, that is, the realization of the productive potential of land as a means of production, is critically contingent upon the functioning of a set of institutions that are sustained by the very social relations that are disrupted or transformed during an armed conflict.

Another important implication is that the Mozambican civil war was *not* an instance of primitive accumulation in Angónia: people were not dispossessed permanently of their land, and there was not a class of accumulators that benefitted from land dispossession. Most households succeeded in regaining access to the land they had left behind although many lost the ability to reproduce themselves from the land as a consequence of the war. As Chapter VII shows, the pressures of post-war commodification transformed the land property and transfer regime in Angónia and helped forge a vernacular land market. Other forms of accumulation are, however, taking place. Throughout the dissertation it will be claimed that the war accelerated processes of proletarianization and commodification, but that both took place in the very specific context of Angónia in which producers remained in full possession of the land. This is a specific feature that defines the agrarian structure of Angónia and requires a theoretical effort. Most approaches today propose, on the contrary, that there is a strong trend towards land dispossession in Mozambique (See Borras et al. 2011, Fairbairn 2013). O’Laughlin (2002) has shown why proletarianization is a historical tendency in Mozambique that does not always imply the creation of a class of landless wage-workers.

The productive experiences of the returning population had important effects in the reconstitution of the agrarian regime in post-war Angónia. This is a point that has been hypothesized but not sufficiently empirically researched (Cramer 2008). As a result of the very different experiences Mozambican refugees had in Malawi, social differentiation was amplified. The coexistence in post-war Angónia of farmers that had accumulated some capital or skills in the production of tobacco with households that needed to hire-out household labour in order to fund the reconstruction of their own agricultural livelihoods paved the way for the adoption of a labour-intensive high-value agricultural export crop, such as tobacco. The production of tobacco had significant entry barriers and has, over the years, contributed to further extending the wedge between net hirers of labour and petty commodity producers and between these and all groups of agricultural wage-labourers. It is claimed here that social differentiation was a necessary condition for the adoption of tobacco, because tobacco absorbs more labour and requires more liquidity than any other crop. Tobacco farming, in the

present moment of development of the productive forces in Angónia, requires the existence of a class of producers with the capacity to mobilize labour and with access to a capital fund. The production of tobacco also requires the existence of a social group willing (compelled) to sell their labour power. If producers attempted to seriously reduce the wage bill of tobacco, they would have to embark on an overhaul of the organization of production that would likely require substantial capital investment and changes in scale and technology. The production of tobacco in Angónia is as much based on pre-existing social differentiation as it has contributed to amplifying it.

Finally, as Cramer proposed productive relations of the wartime political economy can carry over to the post-war period (2008). Cramer hypothesizes that post-war economies can interiorize and institutionalize the frequently exploitative practices that characterize labour relations during the war. The labour relations in the tobacco sector that emerged in Mozambique in the immediate post-war period seem to back this proposition, as they mirror many of the organizational forms encountered in Malawi, notably in terms of the employment of migrant labour (now from Malawi) and the labour categories that emerged. Chapter VI reflects on the way exploitative wartime labour relations in Malawi were adopted during the formative post-conflict decade in which tobacco agriculture took off in Mozambique.

## **2.2. A critique of the spatial turn in African studies**

History and space are the central axes of this investigation of the long-term trajectory of agrarian change in Angónia. Throughout this work it is claimed that Angónia's contemporary agrarian regime is the result of the pressures – sometimes immanent, sometimes planned – and of the consequences of the successful attempt to cast Angónia into a colonial labour reserve. Furthermore, the early and intense advance of market relations of production was deepened rather than suspended by a decade of civil war that caused substantial dislocation and disarray. What is proposed here is to overhaul mainstream interpretations of agrarian history and to provide empirical evidence in order to highlight the shortcomings of academic traditions that renounce references to longer term

processes of social transformation when accounting for agricultural intensification, or more broadly, for development.

However, a merely historical approach would be insufficient to account for the transformation that Angónia experienced in the period under examination. Angónia is a periphery stretching along an international border: the social processes discussed here are inherently spatial. However, as the following chapters will show, there is nothing deterministic about location, demography or agroecology. The determinant forces shaping the agrarian regime were the historical processes that led to the formation of a labour reserve in the periphery and that turned Angónia into a main theatre of the Mozambican civil war. This section examines conceptual approaches to spatial relations, particularly in reference to war and borderlands and will propose ways in which such debates can illuminate the analysis of our case study.

#### 2.2.1. Warscapes: a political geography of war

Academic interest in the last decade in violence and conflict, space and state-building has resulted in highly productive and creative sub-fields of study. Fields such as political geography and the ethnography of the state have contributed to the study of the spatial conditions of violence and war (Engel and Nugent 2010, Das and Poole 2004). In contrast, political economy, which increasingly engages with the study of conflict and war, has largely steered clear of the spatial implications of violence and the link between spatial relations and war. The purpose of this section is to push political economy into engagement with the literature on spatial relations and borderlands.

In their work on the conceptualisation of the geography of warscapes, Korf et al. (2010) propose to study the landscapes shaped by war-related violence from the perspective of the actors' creation of a 'governable order' amid the brutal chaos of war. Their contribution builds on a previous discussion in the political anthropology of Nordstrom and Lubkemann on the Mozambican civil war to highlight the unevenness of warscapes as "spatially differentiated systems of authority and power" (Korf et al. 2010, 386).

Korf et al. adopt the concept of “governable spaces” to propose that war experiences are characterized by the competitive coexistence of many “governable orders” vying for authority and by actors that consequently need to find a logic in the disorder of everyday war-time experience. Uneven systems of authority result in uneven ‘inhabitants of the warscape’. Actors that negotiate survival and reproduction in such contexts do not fall neatly into exclusionary and discrete categories (combatant, civilian, victim). In this approach actors deploy different, at times contradictory, identities and strategies to match the multi-layered array of encounters they have with the uneven power structures (2010, 398). This lends to a discussion of actors’ agency.

There are three areas of tension that emerge from a political economy examination of this account of warsapes. First, the “governable spaces” paradigm seems to lack a theory of social aggregation in the interaction of actors. Interactions appear limited to “actors” and power wielders, but such interactions purportedly escape all attempts at aggregation into historical tendencies and social classes because there is no sustained outcome. Actors are fuzzy and impossible to fix into class positions because power structures as a whole are in flux due to the war. However, in a model of violent conflict in which the opportunistic behaviour of actors dissolves any fixed identity and the exchanges between actors and power do not produce transitive outcomes, power becomes de-politicised and ahistorical (O’Laughlin 2002).

Both in war and peace, power can be accumulated, power relations are consequential and domination is socially sustained. War is not exceptional in this respect: It is not that competing “governable orders” cancel each other’s capacity to have social consequences, but that the social consequences of power are themselves in conflict. Interests, identities and social relations do not cease to operate during war, although they may be transformed by war. Without a theoretical framework of social relations and power or interest for broader historical patterns, the analysis can be criticized for unduly descriptive empiricism (See Smith 1989). In a political economy approach neither individuals nor society exist outside social relations, and social relations are not fortuitous exchanges but create power differentials that accumulate beyond the realm of the individual.



Second, there is no attempt to link the “governable orders” of wartime with their predecessors. It is valid then to ask how these orders come about, and where they lead to. Even conceding a degree of exceptionality to war it would be expected for wartime political orders to have consequences for post-war political order. A political economy approach would not be so ready to discard the role of the historical context in shaping the politics of war and to investigate the ways in which wars transform the deep structures of society. Therefore, what is proposed here is a conceptual shift from documenting the logic of war to studying the mechanisms through which war transforms societies.

Finally, “governable orders” proposes an analysis of the emergence of forms of normativity, legitimation and political coercion that is divorced from the material conditions that support the exercise of power. As will be discussed below, production, exchange and consumption are social activities that mould space. The expansion of capitalist relations of production is in itself the expansion of a capitalist organization of space at local and global level. Studies of power-relations and space will ignore the contribution of dynamics of production, exchange and consumption in sustaining power at their own peril. The “governable orders” approach is not looking at the linkages between wars and long-term structures in the expansion of, and resistance to, capitalism in local and global context. This makes the paradigm ahistorical even despite its heavy use of political history as a heuristic tool. This omission is more critical when the paradigm is applied to the study of post-cold war intrastate conflicts in Africa, which underscore the tensions in the political economy of African polities and the changing position of African economies in the world system. This criticism extends to the broader literature on spatial relations in African history as well. Howard, for instance, recognizes the importance of opening the scope historically, and documents the transformation of the relations of production during the age of capitalism in Africa, but fails to have these observations bear consequences in the conceptualization of social groups and social relations. Howard’s analysis remains wedded to the use of “actors” and “networks” as analytical categories (2010).

### 2.2.2. Towards a political economy of space in Angónia

Following the new political geography and the spatial turn in African studies, political economy should dismiss the conception of space as a place, or as the mere ‘disposition’ of the physical, in favour of an understanding of space as socially produced. However, what distinguishes political economy (and Marxist geography) is that it is principally concerned with the material conditions of production and the structures of power, as the main – not the only – set of forces shaping societies. For Lefebvre, for example, space is not a physical entity but a social construction in continuous movement and mediated by unequal power balances. The formation of space is the result of social struggles: of the outcomes of power relations for exploitation and resistance (1991). The analytical lens here shifts from individuals and ‘actors’ to social relations and social classes.

Different forms of production entail context-specific forms of organizing space. Massey (1984) proposes that changes in production, in the political economy and in the international system combine to effect transformations in the geography of production. Social space becomes segmented and reflects social differentiation: the location and movement of people in space are expressions of their position in the class structure.

Space in Angónia has been shaped by the struggles around the organization of production. In the early colonial period, spatial control was exerted by restricting the movement of the population and creating a private territorial concession in a region beyond the geographic reach of the colonial administration (see Chapter IV on *Praço Angónia*). In the 20<sup>th</sup> century forced labour and migration separated the spheres of production (the destinations of labour migration) and the spheres of reproduction and households were forced to internalize the costs of reproducing the labour force (O’Laughlin 2013, 178). During the Mozambican civil war forced migration caused the separation of producers from the means of production. Rural producers from Angónia were confronted as refugees with a new space and a new social position: for most of them this would be the first time they would be functionally landless and as a result of this, their position in the process of production would be dramatically transformed. In the post-war

period agricultural intensification operated on the basis of spatial relations formed during the colonial period and during the civil war. Chapter VI reflects on the way the historical creation of a hinterland labour reserve in Angónia weighted on the productive dynamics and labour relations during the post-war tobacco boom.

An investigation of Angónia's warscape provides a good test case to apply a political economy of space to the investigation of spatial dynamics in the agrarian trajectory of the district. Three categories here illustrate different aspects of the social production of space relevant to this case:

*Space as production:*

Lefebvre proposed that space has an ambiguous social function because it both embodies a commodity and the means of production of other commodities; moreover space is the product of social relations but it is also constitutive of these very relations (1991, also Harvey 1975). In Angónia the development of the forces of production has different spatial implications: rural accumulators invest in real estate in town; inhabitants of the border engage in arbitrage economies; tobacco producers reach out for migrant Malawian labour and the tobacco company enforces a geographic monopsony: there are many ways of deriving profit from space. The agrarian structure is highly spatialized: kin and lineage are the primary channels for access to land. Predominant matrilocality means that husbands are frequently spatially separated from their own kin and in practice may be landless.

Land is a means for the production of agricultural commodities and is rapidly itself becoming a commodity in Angónia. Land can be bought, sold and leased out in vernacular land markets. As with the process of proletarianization, which was uneven and did not result in the emergence of outright proletarians, commodification of land has also been uneven (Smith 1989). But the strong tendency towards commodification (of land and livelihoods) has effects beyond land itself. What commodification entails is a change in the logic of the use and access to land with effects on land-based social relations. A number of processes signal changes in the use and accommodation of space as a site of production:

the emergence of vernacular land markets; the individualization of production and land ownership; the displacement of productive activities out of the commons; changes in the activities and intensity of the use of land and more exclusionary forms of ownership. On the whole, the changes in the organization of production are expressed very clearly in the spatial register.

*Space as (dis)location:*

The relative spatial location of social groups in relation to capital, to the means of production, to the circuits of exchange, to the markets for commodities, to the sources of wage employment is a central element of analysis. This does not mean that location imposes conditions *ad hoc*, but rather that location, as well as spatial differentiation, is socially constructed (Smith 1989). In the case of historical Angónia rural households were at a spatial crossroads: their very reproduction as farmers became dependent on market interactions but the only viable options for wage employment implied long-distance periodic migration of the adult male population. Moreover, migrants were prevented from settling down in their labour-migration destinations because the jobs on offer did not allow for the reproduction of the workforce: capital successfully externalized the costs of reproduction onto the rural households. For most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century there was no escaping this spatial logic where the sites of production and reproduction were separated by thousands of kilometres.

The coincidence of remoteness and intense integration in distant labour markets was not fortuitous: recruiting migrants allowed capital to profit from low wages and debilitated structural position in the labour process. Seasonal long-distance migrant labour also allowed capital to discharge the costs of reproducing the labour force onto the workers' households (O'Laughlin 2013, Massey 1984). As Chirwa remarked, migrant workers were preferred in Malawi, Rhodesia, Mozambique and South Africa although none of these labour destinations suffered from labour shortages. The use of Mozambican labourers in Malawi during the war and the use of migrant Malawian workers in the current tobacco boom in Angónia perpetuate a spatial set-up in which exploitation is aided by dislocation. Massey theorised capital's capacity to change locations or recruit migrant labour as a form of regaining control over the organization of

production and lowering wage costs: “spatial separation is often an important element in the preservation of particular, local, conditions of production – low wages, loyalty to the company and a concomitant lack of militancy may be easier for a company to ensure in an isolated area where there is a degree of local spatial monopoly over the labour force. And more generally distance has been a great divider of the working class, an important condition for the perpetuation of differences” (1984, 54).

#### *Space as circulation:*

The historical separation of labour and capital on the one hand, and places of production, of exchange and consumption on the other creates an array of mobilities and immobilities. In Angónia the processes of commodification and proletarianization have been predicated on the mobility of labour and commodities through space. The history of Angónia has been transformed by these mobilities. While during the colonial period capital was fixed and labour was forcibly mobilized outwards, the movement is now reversed: contemporary agribusiness capital is fully mobile and comes to engage with producers at farm level; as a consequence out-migration grinds to a halt.

#### 2.2.3. The borderland debates: border as constraint, borders as conduit

The spatial turn in African studies has also energized the debate about the significance of borderlands in the state-building process in Africa. This debate is relevant to the discussion about spatial relations in the case of Angónia as a borderland. Reviews tracing the development of the African borderland literature by Nugent (1996) and Hoehne and Feyissa (2013) identify a first period in which borders were conceived in the literature as spatial constraints imposed exogenously onto social realities by colonial authorities. In this analysis African borders are arbitrary and prone to conflict. Indeed it has been noted that the vast majority of African borders are traced along parallels, meridians and lines with no social meaning (Sautter 1982, cited in Nugent 1996). In this approach, central states across Africa struggled to project authority in the peripheries; borders lacked importance in the everyday life of communities and older trade routes prevailed in the form of smuggling. But if African borders were less absolute

and hermetic than elsewhere, they were not irrelevant as they did mark the surface of encounter of different jurisdictions and political systems. Borderlands constituted zones of social and political ambivalence (Asiwayu 1985).

In the past decade there has been a conceptual break with this tradition. More recent contributions have documented the myriad of livelihoods and opportunities created around the border and have theorized about the way borderland dynamics feed back into the process of state-building (Roitman 2004, Nugent 2008). As a result in these works borderlands are presented as zones of teeming opportunity and dynamic creation of political identities. Hoehne and Feyissa advocate reclaiming the local agency of borderland actors and their creativity in dealing with the informal politics and informal economies of the border (2013, 61). These actors transform the border into a resource and an opportunity for gains (Nugent and Asiwayu 1996, Nugent 1996). This reinterpretation of borderlands is an attendant effect of the influence of the “new political geography” and the spatial turn to African studies (Engels and Nugent 2010).

This approach also calls for a more historically and empirically informed account of borderlands as a process, more than as a finalized, reified convention. Borderland actors are not necessarily reactive to the central state and the formal economy, but rather opportunistic users of national identities and borderlands enforcement. Frequently their presence inadvertently contributes to consolidate the state-building project. (Roitman 2004, Nugent 1996, 2008; Goodhand 2008). Yet putting the borderland at the centre of analysis has some analytical drawbacks. Borderland relations are significant for dynamics that are not neatly confined within the borderland. The corollary then is that when the following chapters engage with the borderland, it will be to situate the role of the borderland in the socio-economic formation of the agrarian regime, rather than to reconstruct the history of the borderland *per se*

Although the borderland-centric research agenda takes on the necessary task of subverting an unhelpful statist bias, it would not necessarily work for a research project couched in a political economy tradition, in so far as the emphasis in this case is necessarily on relational and conflictive social transformation in time and

space. The borderland (the socially constructed space) and history are the material expression of those changing social relations, but social relations need to be conceptually at the centre of analysis.

This repositioning goes hand in hand with the methodological critique about the unit of analysis. The borderland literature uses ‘actors’ and ‘agents’ as building blocks of their conceptual framework. Border dynamics are presented as an eclectic and dynamic source of opportunities for border entrepreneurs. The use of the language of ‘actors’ and ‘opportunities’ supposes that social experiences in borders are best explained by assuming rational, maximizing individuals waiting to capitalize on market opportunities (formal and informal). In such accounts there are no power relations and no social differentiation.

In contrast, this research was interested in investigating the way social relations of power around property and production reacted to and shaped the socio-political experience of the border. From this approach, the border becomes a central arena of struggles for the control of property and labour and can be used as a way of cornering the workforce or alternatively as a way of resisting and escaping the attempts of such co-option (this will be discussed in detail in Chapter IV).

A political economy approach opens the field for a different type of question: are borderlands a constraint on or a conduit for the broader process of commodification? How do borderlands interact with the tendency experienced throughout 20<sup>th</sup> century Angónia towards proletarianization? What is the peculiarity of a labour reserve and, later, a labour market that operates in the proximity of and across an international border? What cleavages and dynamics are formed in the contraposition of Mozambique and Malawi’s markedly different agrarian regimes of land and labour? What is proposed then is to build on themes from the borderland debates from a political economy approach. Here it is argued that the formation of an agrarian class structure in Angónia has been mediated by its borderland context in two different and complementary ways: socio-economic arbitrage and spatial cornering.

### *Socio-economic arbitration and gate-keeping rents*

Arbitrage is a category of borderland studies formulated by Andersen and O'Dowd (1999). The concept of arbitrage stems from the work of Anderson and O'Dowd (1999). The 'borderland as opportunity' literature provides a myriad of excellent examples of borderlands used as means of socio-economic arbitrage (See Roitman 2004, Nugent 2008, Nugent and Asiwaju 1996, Goodhand 2008). The problem with this approach is that it presents borderland arbitrage economies (e.g. tax avoidance, smuggling, protection rackets, violent accumulation) as opportunistic activities of 'actors' that appear disconnected from a broader historical context and socially inconsequential in terms of the expansion and transformation of trading networks, accumulation and dispossession, social differentiation and ultimately class formation. Such approach exemplifies borderland-centric analyses that in their emphasis on state-building, on the relation between citizens and the state, neglect examining the connections between borderland economies and processes of development, class formation and agrarian change (See Nugent and Asiwaju 1996, 5ff).

Here instead the category is reconfigured to encompass not only the possibilities of exploiting opportunistically two economic and juridical regimes that are in contact in the borderland but to account more broadly for the way social relations of production take advantage of, and take place in, the borderland. "Different forms of economic activity incorporate or use the fact of spatial inequality in order to maximise profit. This form of response to geographical unevenness will vary both between sector, and within any given sector with changing conditions of production" (Massey 1979, quoted in Smith 1989).

The juridical cleavage of the borderland has been incorporated as an element in the relations of production: instances of socio-economic borderland arbitrage were found in the attempt of 'borderlanders' to avoid colonial taxation and forced labour by migrating to Nyasaland (Phiri 1984, cited in Nugent and Asiwaju 1996). People from Angónia used the border cleavage to escape forced labour. But arbitrage has also reinforced the tendency towards proletarianization: during most of the colonial period, wages and employment opportunities in Malawi and lack thereof in Mozambique pushed many of the respondents in our



survey to seek seasonal work in Malawi, even if only to pay their taxes and be allowed to continue farming in Mozambique. Here, the border arbitrage, although used to avoid taxes and forced labour in Mozambique, reinforces the progressive integration of producers from Angónia into labour markets and their integration into the cash economy. In the current tobacco boom, thousands of Malawian seasonal workers flow every year to Angónia to find jobs as agricultural labourers or to become tobacco tenants. In doing so, they are seeking the wages in Meticaís and the premium of the currency differential. Even the large contract farming scheme that sustains the tobacco boom can be described as an arbitrage economy by the leaf-buying multinational which takes advantage of the legal and policy differences in Mozambique to avoid the more taxed and regulated Malawian tobacco regime (as will be discussed in Chapter VI).

But socio-economic arbitrage is just one way of playing the border in conflicts over production. Arbitrage is defined as the advantage or disadvantage created in one or the other side of the border from the exploitation of regime differentials (Anderson and O'Dowd 1999). A related form of using the border for accumulation or resistance is the creation of gate-keeping rents and tolls. The border provides an excuse to levy contributions, exactions and outright surplus appropriation from those intending to cross or use the border. Angónia provides a plethora of historical examples of this: the demands experienced by labourers from Malawi and Angónia migrating to the Transvaal and Rhodesia during the colonial period, asked to produce pass books and to pay for medical examination in order to cut across Mozambique. Or the colonial network of borderland Portuguese traders, in charge of blocking the flow of agricultural produce from Angónia into Malawi and to redirect it towards mainland Mozambique. Or the smuggling networks that made certain commodities available either side of the border, but that created rents captured by the smugglers. Nugent notably rejects Davidson's (1992) interpretation of smuggling routes as a persistence of pre-colonial or pre-delimitation trade routes (also Goodhand 2008). Nugent's argument is convincing, citing evidence to show that European merchant routes had dissolved pre-existing trade circuits in Western Africa and that what was being smuggled (clothes, shoes, imported processed food) was testament to new

forms of consumption beckoned by the intensification of cash crop agriculture (1996, 55, See also Roitman 2004).

The spatial policing of movement linked to the functioning of international borderlands within the Southern African labour migration system is perhaps the most tangible expression of spatial relations as constitutive elements of the struggles for the mobilization of labour and the resistance against proletarianization; in other words, a spatial expression of the advance of pressures introduced by capitalist forms of production in southern Africa. In summary, arbitrage and gate-keeping are not simply livelihoods strategies to derive profit from the border, but are inscribed more generally in the longer making of borderland labour reserves and in the historical struggles for the mobilization and exploitation of the migrant labour of producers of Angónia and their attempts at resisting proletarianization.

#### *Socio-spatial enclosure*

There is a different instance of arbitrage that is referred to here as spatial enclosure: a type of arbitrage created by the cleavage not across the border, but between centre and periphery. Nugent and Asiwaju (1996) refer to the function of borders as means to corral sets of people, while Nugent (2008), Goodhand (2008) and Anderson and O'Dowd (2010) use metaphors akin to the *fishing net* to describe the way borders let some people and commodities pass while preventing other from moving. Here it is proposed that 'corralling', 'cornering' or 'fishing net' could be used interchangeably to describe the way borders can be managed to block the mobility of social groups in a way that sustains accumulation. The borderland literature seems to miss out on the way social relations of production are shaped by such dynamics. Population and commodities from a borderland can be corralled by the coupling of a hard border and the historically constructed isolation from the centres of accumulation (e.g. transport and economic marginalization, the weaker presence of the state and institutions, the historical paucity of local employment). The idea here is that this effect is incorporated into the character of the relations of production. Examples of this are trade asymmetries, wage level differentials between centre and periphery, lower commodity prices to producers, the thinness of the local

labour market and the resulting structural position of borderland migrants in their seasonal labour destinations.

People from Angónia had fewer options in terms of income generation than agricultural producers in more integrated regions in Mozambique. But the jobs on offer in the centres of accumulation were not sufficient for the reproduction of the labour force: the employers were actively avoiding the proletarianization of the workforce. As a consequence, producers from Angónia could not afford to migrate definitely out of Angónia (other socio-juridical obstacles existed, for example women were seldom issued *guias de marcha*, the colonial passes) but since the very reproduction of farming households depended on the availability of cash incomes and linkages to markets, people from the borderlands and distant labour reserves with few local job opportunities were forced into seasonal migration for lower wages by pressures that workers coming from integrated regions did not experience.

In more structural terms, the colonial formation of a labour reserve in Angónia was made possible by this enclosure effect (See Chapter IV): Angónia was a remote hinterland pocket of population attractive to capital as a source of abundant and cheap migrant labour, but labour only remained comparatively cheap because Angónia had been historically constructed as a remote borderland which could not export other commodities. Its isolation was to an extent an attempt at social engineering (O’Lauhlin 2013), as much as the illegal labour migration to the British colonies was an attempt at resisting this form of enclosure.

Contemporary examples of this ‘cornering effect’ in Angónia are numerous: Chapter VI describes the way the border helps enforce the tobacco monopsony and prevent side selling in contract farming. A proportion of the producers are compelled to take tobacco contracts because there are few other cash crop alternatives and conversely the Tobacco Company sources most of the tobacco produced in Mozambique from the Mozambique-Malawi borderland. In sum, to ignore the importance of the cornering effect in shaping the terms in which merchant capital interacts with local producers in the borderland, would result in misunderstanding the dynamics of the borderland proper

### **2.3. Conclusion**

The two themes discussed in this chapter, the conceptual approaches to the study of war processes and spatial relations, complete the coordinates that guide the analysis presented in this dissertation. The research reconstructs the historical process of formation of the contemporary agrarian regime and engages here with the historical specificity of the Angónia highland, that is, a regime of property and production shaped by spatial relations and by processes of proletarianization and commodification accelerated by the Mozambican civil war.

Studies of war and spatial relations in sub-Saharan Africa have been at the centre of enormous scholarly interest in the past decade, but not generally from a political economy approach. On the other hand, recent work on the linkages between war and space has to a certain extent uncritically embraced the rejection of class as a valid category of analysis. Many of the studies that are indeed approaching war and space from a political geography or anthropological angle have opted for methodological individualism – consciously or not – or have rejected all attempts at finding patterns of historical change. The work of Chingono on the socioeconomic transformation of war in the province of Manica amounts to the idealization of grassroots informal economies populated by agents, but renounces social relations (1996); the work of Keen documenting the accumulation and dispossession mechanisms of war and famine in Sudan does not reflect on the class interests that emerge from these brutal forms of primitive accumulation, but opts instead for the essentialist shorthand of Baggara raiders and Dinka herders (1994).

This chapter has opened a disciplinary dialogue between the fields of study that have been exploring new ways of accounting for the spatial relations of war in sub-Saharan Africa and the political economy literature, which has been comparatively less interested in space and war dynamics.

### **Chapter III: Agrarian change in Angónia: case study and methodology**

This chapter consists of three sections. The first section presents an introduction to the case study examined in this dissertation. It begins with a discussion about the reasons for the selection of the case, leading to a general overview of the district of Angónia and concluding with the presentation of the research questions and hypotheses that guided this research. The second section discusses the methodology used in the implementation of the study and the third section describes the three research sites.

#### **3.1 Agrarian change in Angónia: presentation of the case study**

Many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa that experienced internal armed conflicts ending after the Cold War period went on to promulgate land laws and land policy frameworks as a core component of the post-war reconstruction effort (Adams and Palmer 2007, African Union 2009). This signalled an attempt by the states emerging in the period to provide a legal basis to their claim to renewed territorial control and to reach out to citizens and non-state power wielders, both urban and rural.

The wave of sector reviews, emerging land policy and legislative reforms has been influenced by on-going debates about the links between tenure security, investment and growth spearheaded by foreign donors and academics over the last two decades. The promulgation of laws and policies was also a response to the prominence of agrarian contradictions as factors contributing to the onset of armed conflict or as a consequence of war, displacement and relocation, which needed to be addressed in the post-conflict reconstruction effort (Peters 2004, Pons-Vignon and Solignac 2004, Huggins and Clover 2005, Pantuliano 2009, Leckie 2009, Unruh and Williams 2013).

The literature on post-conflict land management has focused on the development of institutions addressing post-conflict land restitution and land dispute arbitration, and more recently has been preoccupied with large-scale investment-driven land evictions (“land grabbing”). By contrast, this work proposes to shift the focus to examine the effects that experiences of war have on long-term

agrarian dynamics of production and accumulation, both in relation to the ownership and control over the means of production and to the organization of production (what is produced, how and by whom). Such an approach requires an examination of the processes of agrarian change far predating the onset of armed conflicts. This also marks the research out from the rich tradition of investigating the propensity for particular agrarian structures and dynamics to cause violent conflict, as opposed to investigating how such conflict may influence longer run trajectories of agrarian change.

Chapters I and II have presented a critical annotated introduction to the fields to which this study contributes: the political economy of agrarian change and the political economy of war and war to peace transitions in Southern Africa. In confronting these bodies of literature, this study attempts to fill a gap in the understanding of the impact of societal-level shocks on the already dynamic transformation of social relations of production and to contribute to an empirically grounded understanding of the long-term effects of violent conflict against the background of capitalist development.

This work examines the disruption of production caused by armed conflicts as well as changes in the position of different groups in the productive process. The use of ‘disruption’ does not foreclose productivity-enhancing effects unleashed by armed conflicts. On the contrary, the study sheds light on the historical and political conditions (migration, war) that explain the rapid expansion, in post-conflict settings like Angónia, of non-equity forms of capitalist control over production, such as contract farming.

### 3.1.1. Selection of the case

Mozambique was selected as the country case for this study after a preliminary survey of the literature. Two decades have passed since the end of the civil war (1992), making it feasible to study the long-term dynamics of post-conflict agricultural reconstruction and the changing character of the agrarian regime. Mozambique was until recently deemed a successful case of post-conflict stabilization and the 1997 land law hailed as best practice with several African countries encouraged to replicate it. In this respect Mozambique is an

emblematic case of peace negotiations putting an end to a long-standing armed conflict that is followed by the drafting of land laws and policy as a mechanism to consolidate peace and reorganize local politics and production.

The following phase was the selection of a case study area in Mozambique. Different regions were considered in order to find a good testing ground for debates about long-term agrarian dynamics and the impact of armed conflict. The district of Angónia makes a revealing case study since it conforms to a series of requirements that an investigation into these issues entails: Angónia had been agriculturally dynamic before the war (CEA 1983a, 1983b); it was badly affected by the violence of the armed conflict (using rates of population displacement as a criterion) and the character of agricultural production had changed dramatically in the post-conflict period with the introduction of tobacco. A final advantage of studying Angónia was the existence of studies on the district about agricultural production and land, which covered the colonial period, the post-independence years, the wartime period and the post-war years. This literature made it possible to establish a baseline that gives this work a solid historical perspective.

The main economic activity in the district is tobacco agriculture. There are several advantages of studying the productive dynamics around tobacco. Data on tobacco production from national to farm level are centralized and detailed records of production are kept by the tobacco trading company. The study of other crops in Mozambique is badly compromised by the relative lack of systematic and reliable information about production. Another advantage to studying tobacco is that farming households receive a one-off payment at the end of the commercialization period. This is helpful when attempting to calculate household revenue and expenses. Income-related enquiry based on respondent recall is famously one of the most challenging aspects of socio-economic research (Olsen 1992, Kandiyoti 1999). Agricultural-based production, which frequently involves sales of produce throughout the year in different markets and at different prices, can be difficult to reconstruct unless households keep written records. The lump sum payment received by tobacco farming households makes an accurate understanding of income levels more possible.

Map 3.1 The district of Angónia after the 1986 territorial reform



(Source: the author)

### 3.1.2 Setting of the study: overview of the district

The watershed that divides the tributaries of the Zambezi River from streams flowing to Lake Malawi marks the border between central Malawi and central Mozambique. The District of Angónia is the administrative unit on the Mozambican side of this border. Angónia is a fertile highland plateau between 900 and 1300 m above sea level, extending over 3,259 km<sup>2</sup> and contained between the Namanse River to the west and the Kirk range that stretches from southern Malawi to Zambia in the northeast (See Map 3.1).

Angónia, together with a few neighbouring districts in the province of Tete, is inhabited by Chichewa speakers. Chichewa is spoken by approximately 600,000



Mozambicans, less than 3 per cent of the total population, in districts bordering Malawi. Chichewa is the most widely-spoken language of Malawi. As will be shown in Chapter IV since the borderline was established by the Portuguese and British colonial administrations in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, bureaucratic interventions and historical contingencies have had the effect of hardening the material distinction and the political identities either side of the border. However, the social and economic linkages of the population of Angónia with Malawi remain the defining feature.

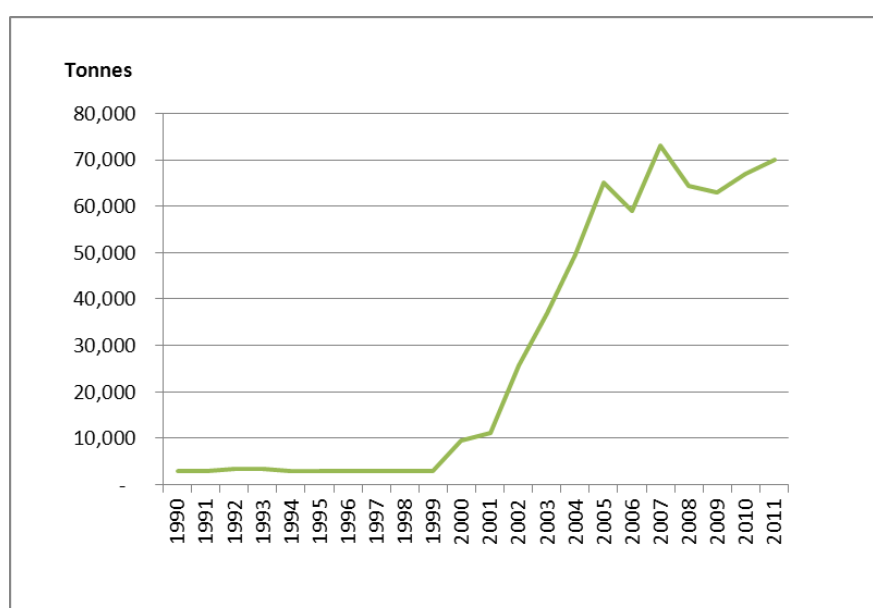
Data analysis from the 2007 census indicates that Angónia, with an estimated population of 348,989 in 2012, is also the most densely populated rural district in Mozambique and has one of the largest district populations, excluding conurbations and ports. The size and density of the population sets Angónia apart from other regions in Mozambique, including neighbouring districts in Tete province. Angónia makes up 16.7 per cent of the province's population, far surpassing the provincial capital Tete (pop 155,870). A distinguishing spatial trait with implications for the agrarian structure is the even spatial distribution of the population: the District consists overwhelmingly of villages of less than 1,000 inhabitants and only two major towns of which the largest, the capital Vila Ulongue, has an estimated population of only 30,000. Angónia consists of 1,119 villages, 18 head villages and two *Postos Administrativos*: Ulongue and Domwe (GDA 2012). In terms of population density Angónia resembles neighbouring districts in Malawi more than it does other districts in Mozambique. One of the purposes of this work is to explain the social and historical grounds for the demographic particularity of the district.

As will be shown in Chapter IV, these demographic dynamics are the result of patterns of settlement; of ways in which productive inputs such as land and labour have been combined to respond to specific agro-ecologic conditions and of a prolonged history of labour migration and agricultural production of commodities for the market. Agriculture is the most productive sector in the district, as well as the one that employs the majority of the population. Non-agricultural sources of employment include the public sector with 1,881 employees (of which 1,478 are in the education sector); private sector workers in the agricultural trading companies and formal and informal workers in transport,

trading and service provision. The remainder of the population works predominantly in agriculture.

The province of Tete is one of Mozambique's main producers of agricultural cash crops and Angónia is its most productive district. The agricultural census of 2009-2010 estimated that Tete produces 58 per cent of the tobacco; 62 per cent of the soya; 72 per cent of the wheat; 11 per cent of the sesame and 11 per cent of the cotton grown in Mozambique (INE 2011b). These crops are traded domestically and some of them internationally. Tobacco in particular is Mozambique's main agricultural export and the focus of this work (see graphs 3.1-3.3).

Graph 3.1a Mozambique: Tobacco Production



(Source: FAO 2013)

Table 3.1b Distribution production units with access to credit and inputs by province

	<i>Access to credit</i>	<i>Fertilizer</i>	<i>Pesticide</i>
Niassa	2%	12%	11%
Cabo Delgado	5%	1%	17%
Nampula	11%	6%	9%
Zambézia	4%	1%	1%
<b>Tete</b>	<b>59%</b>	<b>63%</b>	<b>37%</b>
Manica	2%	4%	5%
Sofala	7%	1%	2%
Inhambane	3%	3%	6%
Gaza	6%	3%	5%
Maputo Province	1%	2%	3%
Maputo District	1%	4%	6%
<i>Mozambique</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>100%</i>

(Source: INE 2011b)

Graph 3.2 Cash-crop Production in Mozambique, by Province

<i>Cash-Crops, Area under Cultivation by Province 2009-2010 (ha)</i>												
	<i>Niassa</i>	<i>Cabo Delgado</i>	<i>Nampula</i>	<i>Zambézia</i>	<i>Tete</i>	<i>Manica</i>	<i>Sofala</i>	<i>Inham-bane</i>	<i>Gaza</i>	<i>Maputo province</i>	<i>Maputo city</i>	<i>Total has.</i>
Cotton	6,689	18,544	22,445	568	6,563	4,455	3,105	27	63	0	0	62,459
Sunflower	931	37	288	3,842	1,203	3,503	1,341	18	27	142	0	11,332
Sugar Cane	0	0	5	0	0	27	9,580	3	2,964	25,576	0	38,155
Tobacco	22,542	273	2,186	3,060	42,851	2,012	662	40	3	1	0	73,630
Sisal	0	0	19,452	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	19,466
Soja	93	9	4	2,014	7,356	1,033	48	0	1,241	130	0	11,928
Tea	0	0	0	4,205	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4,205
Ginger	23	8	79	0	1	0	13	0	4	0	0	128
Wheat	8	0	0	0	1,414	529	0	0	0	0	0	1,951
Sesame	2,677	13,325	28,513	6,570	5,705	12,747	26,785	307	662	458	100	97,849
Paprika	1	0	0	0	0	210	0	0	0	0	0	211
Jatropha	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	32,964	32,196	72,972	20,259	65,093	24,530	41,534	395	4,964	26,307	100	321,314

(Source: INE 2011b)

Table 3.3a Agricultural exports Mozambique in 2011(USD)

<i>Item</i>	<i>Export Value (1000 USD)</i>
Tobacco, unmanufactured	216,945
Sugar Raw Centrifugal	98,897
Cashew nuts, with shell	46,519
Cotton lint	40,088
Sesame seed	30,781
Cashew nuts, shelled	20,908
Flour, wheat	19,736
Molasses	14,538
Bananas	10,618
Sugar refined	6,798
Oil, coconut (copra)	6,675
Groundnuts, shelled	5,577
Cigarettes	3,348
Cottonseed	2,069
Tea	1,936
Other	9,673

(Source: FAO 2013)

Table 3.3b Agricultural exports Mozambique in 2011(tonnes)

<i>Item</i>	<i>Export Quantity (tonnes)</i>
Sugar Raw Centrifugal	151,130
Molasses	126,379
Tobacco, unmanufactured	52,734
Bananas	49,309
Flour, wheat	37,817
Cashew nuts, with shell	35,802
Sesame seed	25,871
Cotton lint	16,486
Sugar refined	11,114
Cottonseed	9,812
Maize	8,309
Groundnuts, shelled	6,862
Oil, coconut (copra)	3,647
Cashew nuts, shelled	3,464
Bran, maize	3,184
Other	20,983

(Source: FAO 2013)

In 2011 Mozambique's exports of unmanufactured tobacco were worth USD\$ 217 million and represented 40.5 per cent of total agricultural exports by value (FAO 2013). Estimations based on information available on the area

cultivated by district indicate that Angónia alone contained in 2011 22.4 per cent of the area cultivated in tobacco and 33.5 per cent of the total output in Mozambique (MLT 2011a, 2011b, INE 2010, Also see figure 3.5). Tobacco in Mozambique operates under a legally enforced geographical monopsony concession scheme and the production is predominantly based on contracted outgrowers (MADER 2001). During the 2010-11 season and according to data from the Provincial Direction of Agriculture 20,400 producers had signed production contracts in Angónia. For the most part tobacco production units, both using hired-in labour and not, are constituted by farming households. Considering data from the 2007 census which estimated that Angónia has 71,538 family units, it is estimated that around 28 per cent of the households in Angónia had a contract as direct producers of tobacco during that season (MLT 2011a, 2011b, GDA 2012). To gain a full sense of the centrality of tobacco in the productive structure of the district other groups would need to be included, namely those households that supply labour and services to the tobacco sector, including permanent and seasonal employees of the company, as well as those who gain an income from providing domestic service to farmers. At present there is no solid statistical data on labour markets in Mozambique, so there are limitations to understanding the overall dynamics of labour and employment. Informally, however, it has been reported in the national media that upwards from 25,000 Malawian migrants are employed in the tobacco sector one sub-district of Angónia alone (Diário de Moçambique 2012).

Table 3.4 Province of Tete: Tobacco Production by District in 2011

	<i>Farmers</i>	<i>Area (ha)</i>	<i>Output (kg)</i>
Angónia	20,400	16,517	17,701,413
Macanga	14,838	10,843	12,103,693
Chifunde	11,200	9,105	9,036,842
Tsangano	4,715	2,358	2,181,627
Maravia	2,400	1,200	1,256,790
Chiuta	125	94	74,206
Moatize	180	135	68,327
Province Total	53,858	40,252	42,422,898

\*Includes Burley and DFC tobacco (Source: DPA 2011)

Angónia is a large producer of other cash crops with an important participation in the total traded output of different varieties of potato, soya, beans, maize and tomato. Climate, altitude, and availability of water streams explain in part the productive capacity of the district, but the commodification of relations of production and a long history of market dependence are the determining factors, as the following chapters will show.

Consisting of thousands of farming households working for the most part on their own account, the production of food crops is also central to the allocation of productive resources throughout the year. Maize and beans are the staple food. The survey of tobacco producers implemented as part of this research found that maize produced by households accounted for most of the maize consumed. The degree of dependence on maize purchases and the different responses to the seasonal fluctuation in food crop demand and supply will be discussed in Chapter VI. What fieldwork observations and other empirical evidence suggest, however, is that maize is far from a food crop only, with most respondents buying and selling maize for an array of reasons and in variable magnitude. Furthermore, maize that is not marketed is not necessarily destined to household consumption alone, but is frequently used as part of the payment in contractual arrangements with different categories of workers.

Large producers sell maize wholesale to traders that transport it to Mozambique's larger markets in Tete and Chimoio; smaller producers sell maize in local markets or at the farm gate, as the ratio of bulk to price does not always justify transporting it to the main markets in the district. The recent construction of a maize processing factory owned by the district government may in the coming years help consolidate Angónia's position as a net seller of maize. But small-scale forward linkages exist and are part of the accumulation trajectories described in this study: 215 cereal grinding mills operate in the district (GDA 2012). With most households relying on mechanised milling, paying for maize milling is one of the most frequently cited domestic expenses. Some millers accept part of the raw maize as payment. Some millers become large maize merchants on their own right.

Soya, potatoes and fresh vegetables, mainly tomato and cabbage, are the other crops with established marketing channels and networks of traders. There is a growing demand for soya, to feed the also flourishing local poultry industry. Tomatoes grown in Angónia supply the largest urban centres of central Mozambique.

Unlike soya, tomato and maize that are bought by individual traders in an unregulated market, tobacco is produced under a contractual agreement whereby the tobacco leaf trading company advances productive inputs for growing and curing tobacco leaves and becomes the designated and exclusive buyer of all the resulting dried produce. During the commercialization period tobacco will be classified according to given quality standards and bought by the company at prices that the company communicates to the Ministry of Agriculture and the growers at the beginning of the buying season. The company will deduct the cost of the inputs advanced to the farming household and the remainder is collected as the growers' revenue. This is a preliminary description of the arrangement. Conflicts and tensions that arise at different stages of production will be discussed in Chapter VII.

In the case of tobacco, farming households set in motion the productive process in land of their own using the inputs advanced by the trading company and hiring labour – or mobilising the labour power available in the household. The company realizes its profit in the pricing, grading and trading of dry leaf. In the sale of tobacco leaf some farmers will make a profit, others will only break even and many will default. The company has devised forms of minimising financial losses by enforcing the grouping of farmers into clubs, which are tasked with clearing the repayments of all members as a prerequisite to being offered a contract in the following season.

Tobacco is the most labour and resource-intensive crop grown in the region. In the way in which tobacco is produced at present, there is a limit to the area that can be farmed using only family labour. To overcome this limitation, land-rich producers intending to expand their output hire labour. Three different labour regimes – and their variations - can be found in contemporary Angónia: task-



based labourers – *ganyu*; seasonal workers – *seasoni* or *contrakiti* and tenants – *tenanti*.

These labour categories will be analysed in detail in Chapter IX. However, it is important at this point to bear in mind that the mobilization of labour in the units of production combines own labour and hired-in labour, in different and seasonally varying proportions. Furthermore, the *hiring out* of family labour is one of the strategies used and the wage obtained can itself be used to *hire in* labour. Also tenants, who typically are given an area equivalent to what a household using family labour would farm, will hire help in some cases.

These different contractual relations are contained within each other forming a recursive structure of surplus appropriation and extraction that extends from the relation between the outgrowers and the company; the relation between the outgrowers and the labour they employ - be it from the household or hired - and that between tenants and the labourers they hire. Put together these elements are the constitutive gears of a structure of production and exchange, which will be addressed in Chapter VI.

A number of social institutions intervene in the formation and sustenance of this production regime to uphold, legitimise and more generally to provide households, producers and workers with a set of norms that organizes production. A few examples include the contract farming regime that regulates tobacco production in Mozambique; the matrilineal tendency in personal affiliation and the matrilocal norm that makes lineage one of the core channels of land allocation and access in Angónia, alongside alternative access systems such as vernacular markets to buy and rent land; national identities and migratory regulations; a labour market that straddles the border; narratives and roles pertaining to gender, age, class and autochthony that people activate when situating themselves and situating others in the production process; or official and vernacular ideologies about land, food consumption and cash crops.

Finally what is produced, how it is produced and by whom also bears witness to the impact of historical processes in the district: the spatial construction during the colonial period of Angónia as a labour reserve and the ensuing massive labour out-migration gave shape to the agrarian regime; the political processes

that bound Angónia to the regional dynamics of central Mozambique and its experience of the war; the consequences of the displacement to Malawi of the majority of the population as refugees and the changes this instigated in the reconstruction of productive systems during the resettlement period.

### 3.1.3 Research questions and guiding hypotheses

This research set out to study the process of agrarian change in the Angónia Plateau. The process is examined in the light of the evolution of the land tenure structure; the historical process of labour migration and wartime migration; the adoption of a high value export crop and its effect on the reorganization of the productive process.

Two hypotheses about agrarian change in Angónia guided the design of the research and were translated into concrete researchable questions as follows:

#### *Hypothesis 1:*

*The adoption and expansion of tobacco, in so far as it represents a deepening of commodity relations, introduces a pressure for the commodification of land. The effects of this pressure are mediated by lineage-based customary land management institutions. Where lineage-based land management is more consolidated, limits to the transfers of land will translate into restrictions for accumulation on the basis of tobacco. Where lineage-based institutions are more flexible, accumulation in tobacco will not be limited by access to land.*

- What are the channels through which households obtain access to land? How have they changed over the years? What was the impact of the wartime absence on the land tenure structure? Did the adoption of tobacco increase the demand for land and change the dynamics of land access? What contradictions exist between lineage-based land allocation and vernacular land markets? Are the prevailing methods of land-acquisition different for larger producers? What is the current role of land management authorities? Are changes taking place in terms of types and outcomes of land disputes?

## *Hypothesis 2*

*Contract farming represents a re-agrarianization of the livelihoods of groups of producers that had migrated for wages but had retained their access to land in previous periods. Access to land is a necessary condition for entering into a production contract, but it is the capacity to mobilize household and hired labour what will produce socio-economic differentiation in terms of revenue and asset accumulation.*

- How does the district's record as supplier of migrant labour relate to the current configuration in which thousands of migrant workers come to Angónia looking for work? Which elements explain the adoption and rapid expansion of tobacco in the post-war period? What changes did tobacco introduce to the production processes of the households? What is the link between wartime experiences and post-conflict commercialization? What was the effect of tobacco in terms of the demand for wage-labour and why is most of the seasonal labour migrant? What productive constraints were addressed through hiring-in labour and what changes were affected by hiring labour in the organization of production? What is the impact of this post-conflict labour mobilization on the trajectories of accumulation and social differentiation in Angónia?

### **3.2 Researching rural Mozambique: methodology of the study**

This study is based on an extensive review of the historical literature and on a survey of tobacco-producing households (STFA) implemented during 2012 in the district of Angónia, on the review of primary and secondary sources and on interviews and archival work in Maputo, Tete and Angónia. This section details the preparatory work leading to the design and implementation of the household survey, explains the rationale behind the methodological choices made and introduces the core features of the exercise.

#### **3.2.1 Case selection**

The district of Angónia was selected at the starting point of the fieldwork after careful consideration and comparison with other districts and based on the

following criteria: Angónia had been historically a dynamic district in terms of agricultural production but was also badly affected by the violence of the civil war with most of its population displaced to Malawi; a sector of tobacco-growing farmers emerged and consolidated a few years after the end of the conflict. At present tobacco is Mozambique's largest agricultural export by value and Angónia is at the epicentre of tobacco production in Mozambique. The case of Angónia can be used more broadly to study how changing agrarian structures sustain the impact of war in Sub-Saharan Africa and to what extent the structures that emerged in the post-war periods reproduce pre-war accumulation and differentiation dynamics and incorporate the transformations prompted by war.

This study uses the adoption and development of tobacco agriculture as a lens to examine current and past dynamics of agrarian change and the ways in which they were transformed and redirected by the dynamics of conflict and post-conflict reconstruction. These historical dynamics created the conditions for the expansion of tobacco under a contract farming arrangement. The production of tobacco operates under a state-regulated regime of geographical monopsony concessions. Most of the concessions have been granted to Mozambique Leaf Tobacco (MLT), the subsidiary of the largest international leaf tobacco trader, Universal Leaf Tobacco Company, Inc. The actual production and curing of tobacco leaf is done by local farmers contracted as outgrowers by MLT.

The prevalence, significance and impact of both institutional arrangements, the monopsonistic concessions and contract farming, have been at the centre of debates about the challenges facing agrarian systems in Sub-Saharan Africa as they grow increasingly incorporated into globalized agricultural markets (Oya 2012, Little and Watts 1994, Poulton et al 1998, Poulton et al. 2004). However, few studies have examined the historical processes that make agrarian structures susceptible to - or compatible with - contract farming. As the largest agricultural company operating, MLT runs Mozambique's largest contract farming scheme – and arguably the most successful from a corporate point of view (KPMG 2011). This study shows why post-war Angónia was more susceptible to the adoption of contract farming and contributes to an empirically-based and historically grounded understanding of the conditions in which African agrarian systems,

and the different groups and contradictory interests within them, react when confronted with these new forms of engagement with international capital.

### 3.2.2 Preparatory work

Preparation for fieldwork consisted of gathering information and reviewing the introductory literature on the selected province, district and crop. Interviews with Maputo-based scholars and officials from different branches of the Ministry of Agriculture were conducted. Once in Angónia the first contacts with local administrative officials and other informants helped obtain baseline data, identify the geography of tobacco production and sort out the logistics of field research (Interpreter, cartographic material, transport, etc.). Sets of working questions organised by themes and type of respondent were prepared on the basis of the information gathered and the study's core research questions. These questions went on to be progressively used, adapted and augmented in the phase of exploratory interviews with tobacco producers.

At the preparatory stage administrative officers, *secretarios de localidade*, *Mfumos* (first level chiefs) and other members of the district's political structures were contacted and introduced to the research project. Extensive archival work in different institutions in the district capital, Vila Ulongue, provided the researcher with a comprehensive overview of the territory, the population and the location of tobacco production. This was particularly helpful to start exploratory interviews in an organised and systematic manner.

The first contacts with farmers were meant as a general introduction to understanding "the forms of social organization, the leadership, mores and behavioural patterns" that Hershfield et al. consider a prerequisite for undertaking all data collection (1983).

Both the researcher and the research assistant were based in Vila Ulongue. Daily visits to tobacco producing villages were done by motorcycle, the means of transport best suited to this type of rural research considering the dispersion of production clusters and the lack of regular public transport. In the implementation of the research it became evident that rural field research that is

confined to areas accessible by car only will incorporate a bias against production units with no access to the road (See for example Olsen 1992, 61). It has been estimated that only 32 per cent of the population in Mozambique has access to roads, i.e. population living within a 2km radius from any road (MTC 2011).

Throughout the fieldwork exercise research assistantship and translation between Chichewa and Portuguese was provided by an agricultural extensionist recruited in Angónia. The assistant had lived in Angónia since the end of the war but was born in a neighbouring district. Like many of the respondents, he had been employed in tobacco farms during his years as a refugee in Malawi. This allowed him to build a rapport with respondents that conveyed both empathy and neutrality. The assistant had extensive experience implementing agricultural surveys, so preliminary training was focused rather on the specificities of social research, the ethics of fieldwork, issues of positionality, and helping the researcher become aware of customs and manners in rural Angónia. Adjustments of the research team's working style mainly took place in short discussion sessions at the beginning of each working day. The main difficulty in the first stages was convincing the interpreter of the need to translate literally the interventions of the interviewees.

As the exploratory research phase advanced, the team grew more confident, self-aware and proficient. As the majority of the interviewees were older men, the presence of the interpreter - an older man himself - reassured participants who could have felt uneasy about being interviewed by a younger foreign woman. The assistant's cues and comments about the interviewees' reactions to the questions posed contributed to the quality of the interviews and to the researcher's understanding of gestural and non-verbal expressions of Chichewa-speakers.

Heyer (1992) cites two reasons for having worked with male research assistants in Kenya and Tamil Nadu: creating a counterweight to the female researcher and receiving their protection in "awkward circumstances". Fieldwork in Angónia never felt threatening and the willingness to enact particular gender roles around receiving and providing protection is subject to the ethical and political

inclinations of researchers and the context in which they conduct their studies. But whereas gender may not play a prominent role when conducting research in Angónia (Blom for instance experienced no difficulty when conducting research with village leaders in Angónia with the assistance of a female interpreter (2002)), the class position of assistants was more remarked upon, as a brief spell with an interpreter who was a graduate student demonstrated.

### 3.2.3 Exploratory interviews

During the first exploratory interviews tobacco farmers were located using a database of tobacco production by geographical divisions and production clubs. Tobacco producing villages were visited in seven different *localidades* all within the Ulongue sub-district. The Ulongue sub-district is far surpassed in terms of tobacco output by neighbouring Domwe. Nevertheless, research was conducted in Ulongue due to the availability of previous studies conducted there and for logistical reasons. Depending on the availability of tobacco farmers, semi-structured individual and group interviews were conducted, using the questions prepared beforehand but leaving space for exploring emerging issues.

This research phase allowed for the identification of regularities and differences in the organization of tobacco production at village-level or linked to different agro-ecological conditions, proximity to the border, household composition, access to land and water, etc.

### 3.2.4 Exploratory interviews and Survey of Tobacco Farmers in Angónia (STFA)

The exploratory interviews introduced the researcher to the practicalities of tobacco production, the constraints and pressures producers experienced and the conflicts between different groups involved in production. Tobacco agriculture is complex and involves numerous processes and variables. Although the purely technical imperatives of production will not be discussed in this study, they constitute the context in which social and economic transformation took place.

The concessionary tobacco trading company groups producers into geographical divisions and zones. There was information available about output and number of farmers by division and zone. With this and other information gathered at this point it was considered that implementing a survey of tobacco-producing households was feasible (provided the sampling frame was made available) and would be the most systematic way of understanding the dynamics of production. Without a reliable sampling frame a survey of tobacco producers would only have been possible at the expense of introducing considerable sampling bias. Producers were neither geographically concentrated nor was their distribution smooth across the territory. Considerable time would have had to be spent in locating valid households, which would have added pressure to the already tight daily schedule of rural surveys in which the population is dispersed.

### 3.2.5 Sampling design and procedures

The Survey of Tobacco Farmers in Angónia (STFA) conducted as part of this research consisted of a cross-sectional survey to study the units of tobacco production, identify prevalent forms of organizing production, access to productive assets and the mobilization of labour. The survey gathered a substantial amount of retrospective information about the households' productive trajectory and the war-time experiences. This was intended for a better understanding of households, rather than to determine causality. It is important to note that this was a survey of producers, rather than a population-based survey, and its observations do not apply to the general population of Angónia. The fieldwork for this survey took place in the District of Angónia in the months of June-September 2012. As mentioned before, the exercise started with exploratory research based on interviews with district officials and staff working with the tobacco company as well as extensive semi-structured interviews with tobacco producers in different *localidades* of Angónia in February 2012. The exploratory interviews allowed the researcher to become familiar with the characteristics and phases of tobacco production and helped in the operationalization of the research questions by adapting them to the local experiences with tobacco. On the basis of the exploratory interviews a survey questionnaire was developed (see annexes) and piloted.

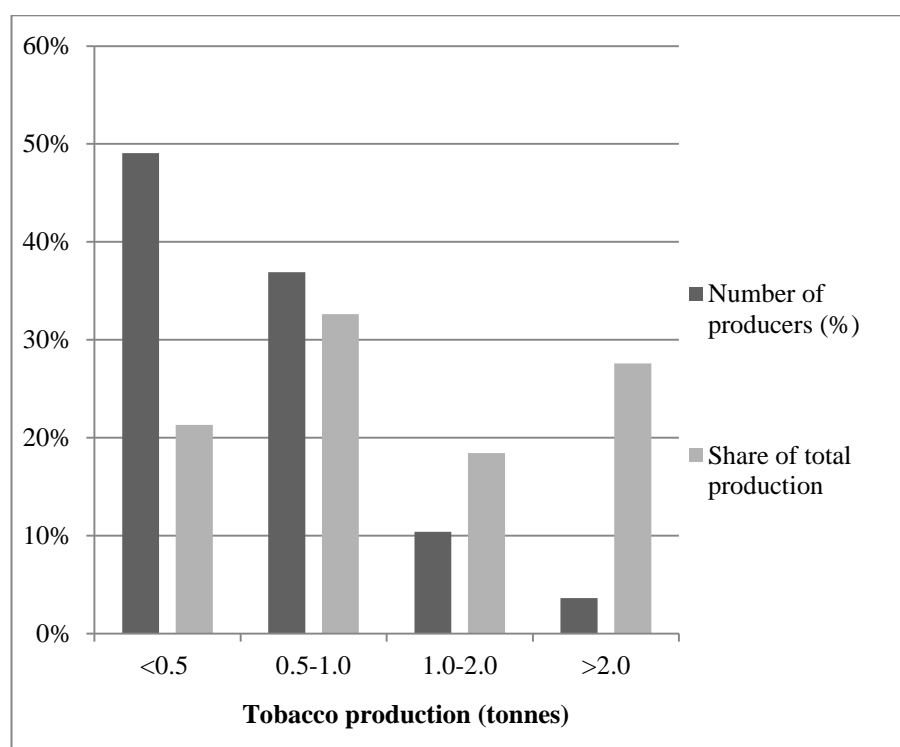


The process of identifying a sampling frame ran parallel to that of preparing the survey questionnaire. Although as it has been pointed out between 28 and 33 per cent of the households in Angónia are engaged in tobacco production, two issues demanded special attention in the identification of a sampling frame. First, the estimated population of Angónia is 350,000 of which only 30,000 live in the district capital (GDA 2012). The vast majority of the population is scattered in a vast territory, in thousands of small villages and hamlets. This had to inform the design of the sampling strategy. Second, in order to implement the survey it was necessary to have reliable basic information about the number of producers, the volume of production and the spatial distribution of tobacco farming. The only possible source of this kind of information was the tobacco company.

Through May and June 2012, the research project was presented to district and provincial managers of the tobacco company. After some negotiation it was agreed that the company would provide a list of producers for any two zones selected. The territory of the concession is made up of divisions that are further divided into zones. The Angónia division includes 21 zones. Two zones were selected: one in the central area of the division, near main roads and markets, and one in the periphery of the division, relatively isolated from transport and market hubs.

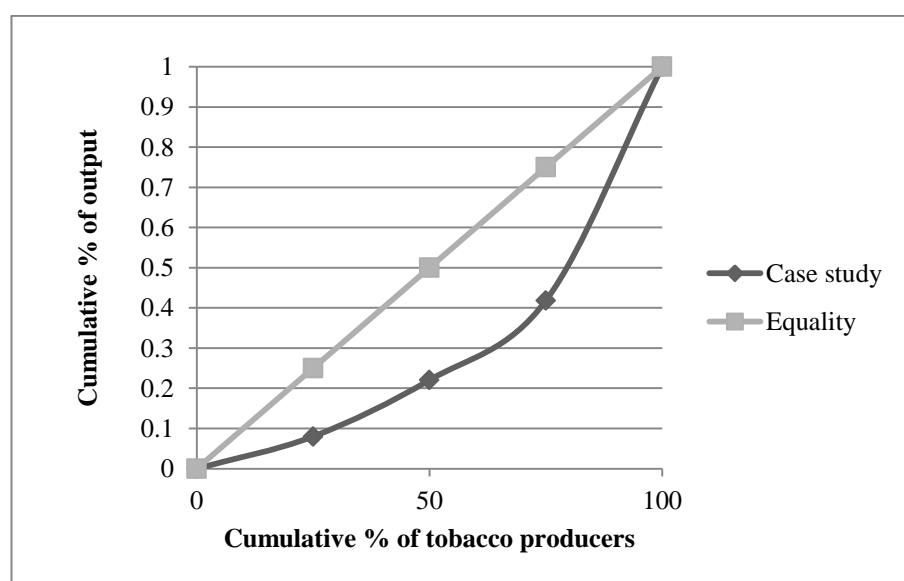
The list of tobacco producers in these two zones (647 producers) corresponds to the sampling frame. The list obtained identified every tobacco contract active in each zone during the 2010-2011 season and the volume of tobacco sold. The analysis of the data revealed that the vast majority of the farmers (86 percent) were small producers with less than a tonne of tobacco sold in the year and a mere 4 per cent of the producers had commercialized more than 2 tonnes (See graph 3.5). However, in terms of output the situation was reversed. The farmers that commercialized more than 2 tonnes of tobacco accounted for 28 per cent of the total output. Total tobacco output in the selected zones was roughly evenly distributed between very large, large, middle and smaller producers. The analysis of distribution revealed that the highest quartile of producers accounted for 58 per cent of total output, resulting in a highly concentrated production with a Gini Coefficient of 43.02 (see graph 3.6).

Graph 3.5 Numbers of producers and share of output



(Source: STFA)

Graph 3.6 Lorenz Curve of tobacco production



(Source: STFA)

Because of the relatively small size of the survey, a fully randomized sample of producers would have failed to reach the top 4 per cent of producers that are responsible for 28 per cent of production in the two zones. Furthermore, it is larger producers who employ hired-in labour more intensively. In order to study the four ranges of production that more or less evenly contribute to final output it was decided to adopt a weighted stratified sampling strategy, attempting to capture an even number of respondents in the different production ranges. This stratification introduces non-random selection to the sample and affects the generalizability of the findings. However, it makes up for this by allowing the survey to study groups that are extremely relevant for tobacco production but that are proportionately small in the population of tobacco producers: the information thus gathered is representative of the way the bulk of tobacco is produced, although not of the bulk of production units. The advantage of this strategy is allowing for the sample to capture the actual dispersion of production (Cramer et al. 2014, Oya 2001, Olsen 1992).

Three areas were selected as sampling clusters: Angónia North, Angónia Central and Angónia South. In each of these areas, producers were clustered around a village. All producers in each of the three clusters were divided by range of production and randomly selected. The targeted sample was 25-30 interviews in each production range. However, it was not possible to reach the target sample of very large producers, as there were none in one of the clusters. The acceptable solution was to oversample in the second and third ranges. Table 3.7 describes the final sample by range of production and provides the ranges in the total list of producers in the two zones selected for reference.

Table 3.7 Final survey sample

	<i>Production ranges</i>				<i>Number of producers</i>
	<0.5	0.5-1.0	1.0-2.0	>2.0	
List of producers	311	234	66	23	
Randomly selected producers	20	36	32	14	
Total producers in selected zones					634
Total sampled producers					102

(Source: STFA)

### 3.2.6 Unit of analysis and criteria of eligibility

Tobacco agriculture in Angónia takes place in a social formation structured by kin-based relations. Agricultural land is in most cases received either from the extended or nuclear family and matrilocal settlement is observed in most cases. Extended families may cooperate in agricultural tasks and in certain instances share resources and food. In emergencies and in need, members of the extended family are the first port of call for cash loans and assistance. But neither the structures of the lineage, nor the extended family share land or co-farm on a systematic basis. Land is allocated, typically after a wedding, to the individual (daughter or son) not to the newly formed couple. Individualization of land tenure is so clear that couples that farm land from both families account for the wife's and the husband's holdings separately. New couples build their houses in the common yard of the wife's maternal family, but each adult woman has her own granary and with few exceptions nuclear families cook and eat separately. The nature of tobacco contracts reinforces nucleation, as the contracts are signed by the husbands and the labour and land mobilised are those of the nuclear family. With few wives in charge of the contracts and fewer single men growing tobacco, it seems that tobacco also stresses conjugality. Chapter VI will discuss the interaction of conjugality and tobacco production, following O'Laughlin's invitation to conceptualize the relation between "long-term processes of macro-economic change and the dynamics of domestic groups" (2012) and accounting for the reiterated observation of friction between tobacco agriculture and conjugal practices and ideologies in Angónia.

In summary, while encased in lineage-based relations, tobacco agriculture is discrete in the mobilization of productive resources from the nuclear, residential household. For this reason the basic unit of analysis adopted in this survey is the nuclear family household.

The use of the household as a unit of systematic observation and analysis is one of the most contested and fertile debates in the study of capitalist development in Sub-Saharan Africa. Aware of these debates, this study's unit of observation is the household understood as a basic social formation delimited by kin relations, common residence and commensality; linked by production, consumption and

reproduction; as the site of formation of “identity and social markers” and set within structures of societal differentiation (Guyer and Peters 1987). Such a definition can be problematized for missing out on economic relations that bind non-resident household members (Oya 2002) or for being too blunt a tool to be able to observe intra-household inequality and power differentials (Russell 1993) or supra-household non-kin dynamics (Kandiyoti 1999). Conversely the adoption of the household as unit of analysis in rural African can be criticized for imposing an ahistorical and universalizing concept of co-resident nuclear family onto social formations in which households intersect with -rather than correspond to- families while at the same contributing to reify and naturalize a social division between productive and reproductive labour (Harris 1984, Hill 1986, O’Laughlin 2012, Cramer et al. 2014).

Attempts to render visible the economic linkages of non-resident family members to the household are crucial when working in settings with a high incidence of out-migration in which key transfers to and from the household sustain domestic relations across space. In the case of this study, exploratory interviews indicated that outmigration from Angónia had lost the importance it once had in the reproduction of tobacco-producing households (or, conversely, capital found a way to relocate the sites of production to villages and landholdings of former migrants) so that an ‘economic’ definition of the household emphasising transfers over distance would not necessarily capture information lost if using an ‘anthropological’ definition stressing kin and conjugal linkages. The heuristic use of co-residential nuclear households as unit of analysis in this study does not signify that the household is understood to be the main, let alone the only, structure in which individuals find adscription in Angónia. Instead it indicates that the individual liability inbuilt in tobacco contracts prefigures a household as the counterpart. In doing so the farming contract privileges residential households as units of production and economic interaction. This could have transformed societal structures of kin, as well as gender and seniority power balances. However this thesis rejects the assumption that households are self-contained or have unitary interests (O’Laughlin 2012).

Men and women farm together in most households although there is gender division of tasks and gender roles linked to participation in the production of

dried tobacco leaf: so who should be chosen as main respondent in a survey of tobacco producing households? A tension in the selection of eligible respondents within a household emerged in the phase of exploratory interviews. Gender dynamics and domestic structures need to be carefully studied. In the majority of households surveyed tobacco is produced in contracts signed by the husband - in land inherited by the wife (which tends to be closer to the site of the house and dryer). Also the incorporation of hired-in labourers introduces changes to the gender distribution of tasks in tobacco. although the coordinates that allowed for locating farming households gave the name of the contract holder (overwhelmingly the husband) it was clear that both husband and wife were cognizant of, and involved in, the production of tobacco. This study defined as eligible respondent either or both members of the couple according to availability but with one of them as the respondent of reference. This tended to be the contract holder, but when the husband was absent, unavailable or the wife was the person organizing production, the wife was interviewed. This allowed for the inclusion of many women who accepted to take part in the survey as main respondents.

Many cases of polygyny were captured in the sample. Matrilocality being the norm, different wives rarely live together; it is rather the husband that goes back and forth spending time with each wife. In the absence of co-residence it was easy to discount these as separate households, albeit the sharing of a critical resource for agriculture (adult male labour) would have probably resulted in their codification as a single household if an economic definition of the household had been adopted. The only instance in which groups of nuclear families related through polygyny were registered as a single household was when their tobacco production used a common pool of labour, land and inputs (and a single contract) and shared the proceeds. Households with separate production contracts and plots were treated as separate households and the household sampled was that one where the husband was found on the day of the interview.

### 3.2.7 Developing the survey questionnaire

A questionnaire was prepared and formatted on the basis of the questions tested and emerging during the exploratory phase and attentive to the suggestions and guidance of previous household surveys looking at land and labour dynamics, agrarian change and the impact of armed conflict (Justino et al. 2010, LSMS 2012, FTEPR 2013). The questionnaire was implemented in a pilot of the survey and adjusted to guarantee a good flow in the themes, an adequate formulation of the text for each question and adapting the duration of the exercise to the attention span of both respondents and research team. Several versions of the questionnaire were piloted and progressively adjusted until all the questions worked. Copies of the final questionnaire were reproduced in Angónia, which proved better than working with a fixed questionnaire developed beforehand (See Olsen 1992).

The questionnaire included an introduction to the research project and a verbal consent form. Because it was challenging to convince the respondents that this research project had no links with the government or with the tobacco trading company, in the transition from the introduction to the first module of the questionnaire respondents were asked to reiterate that they understood that the study was conducted for academic purposes and unconnected to other institutions. Each respondent received a leaflet detailing in Chichewa the nature of the research project and including the names of the researcher and assistant, pictures, affiliation, contact numbers and supervisors, as recommended by Hershfield et al. (1983). Similarly there was a semi-structured conversation to conclude the exercise in which respondents were thanked for their time and effort as well as asked about their overall impression of the interview and whether they had questions for the research team.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The questionnaire and the information leaflet are reproduced in the annexes.

### 3.2.8. Modules in the questionnaire

#### *The household composition module*

The first section of the questionnaire gathered information about the respondent and situated him/her in the household. The central component of the section located the residence of the household in relation to the location of the husband and wife's kin in order to determine patterns of residence and spatial mobility.

Data on date of birth and date of marriage helped locate the households temporarily in relation to historical events such as war-time displacement and return. Cross-referencing information about settlement patterns and life cycles contributed to a more granular analysis of the impacts of war later on. Households that were formed before displacement left behind land and assets and migrated with dependents. People that reached maturity while in Malawi were more likely to marry Malawians and people from distant villages, changing the patterns of settlement and production after returning to Mozambique.

This section also gathered information about the size of the household and its situation within polygyny arrangements. Respondents were also asked about the settlement patterns and land allocated to married offspring to trace intergenerational changes in the patterns of land transmission.

#### *Land module*

The land module complements the questions on the settlement patterns by tracing the characteristics of the land received by each member of the household through their family and establishing which plots are operated by the household and how. Most of the villagers in Angónia build their houses in compounds that are not adjacent to the fields and gardens they farm, so that the true implications of matrilocality are incomplete without tracing the origins of the land farmed and what crops are grown in which plots. It can be the case that couples live with the wife's family but farm land obtained from the husband's family. The ownership of forests, fields and gardens by different members of the household is in the beginning a consequence of kin relations. The location of the plots in relation to the house and to each other form a set of conditions that shape the organization of production and in so doing also reinforce the importance of



lineage as a channel to access land. However, land rentals and transactions are also prevalent. The module included questions that traced the engagement of the household in these vernacular land markets. The questions also helped in understanding the nature of the coexistence of lineage-based channels and market mechanisms and to measure to what extent this relation was mediated by the adoption of tobacco agriculture. A subset of questions enquired about the nature of land disputes and mediating authorities.

#### *Production and commercialization module*

The questionnaire was designed to collect information about production of maize, tobacco and other cash and food products. In the case of maize, emphasis was put on understanding in detail the resources used in production, the yields, the use of the output and the rationale of sales and purchases of maize during the year. The goal in this subsection was to capture the complexity of the relation between cash-crop production and maize and to collect evidence to test the dominating narratives that see cash-crop production as a threat to food-crop production and food security. These narratives shape the way the Mozambican state engages with the tobacco sector.

The module on tobacco deals with the land, labour and inputs used in production and traces the productive trajectory of the household's annual tobacco revenue and output for the 2010-11 and 2011-12 seasons as well as their expenses and patterns of investment. Detailed information about the land and labour used in tobacco helps account for differences in the organization of production between large and average-size producers. Anecdotal information captured in the questionnaire complements other data collected in order to identify the determinants of output differentiation in tobacco production. The module also contains questions designed to elicit a list of all the household's income-generating activities.

#### *Labour recruitment and labour regimes*

Since tobacco is more labour intensive than other crops produced in Angónia, some effort went into ensuring that a labour sub-module for tobacco captured each unit's idiosyncratic combination of types of labour arrangements, types of

tasks, wages and conditions. Insights about the existence of three main labour regimes stem from empirical evidence gathered in this module.

Furthermore, it was noted in the exploratory interviews that labour migration out of the district, which had been highly prevalent for adult married and single men in the pre-war period, had been for the most part abandoned and that there seemed to be a reversal in the direction of the labour migration channels with important numbers of workers coming from neighbouring districts, from Malawi and from households in Angónia that do not grow tobacco. In order to confirm these observations a number of questions were included about the origin of the workers hired and the methods of recruitment.

#### *Household migratory and employment trajectory*

One of the core objectives of this research project was to make inferences about the relation between pre-war labour migration and the formation of an agrarian regime in Angónia and then about the impact of wartime migration to Malawi triggering developments that transformed the agrarian structure in post-war Angónia. To base these inferences on evidence, it was necessary to locate the history of the surveyed households against the background of these historical processes.

It could be argued that the reconstruction of family histories is best addressed using in depth interviews or semi-structured questionnaires. In-depth interviews with selected respondents were implemented at the end of the survey to address these objections. However, the inclusion of questions tackling historical processes and household experiences during conflict in population-based surveys remains a powerful tool, so long as it is adapted to the potentialities and limitations of this methodological option.

Other examples of village surveys tracing historical processes have acknowledged that a sample that is representative of the village at the time of the survey may be wholly unrepresentative of the village in the historical periods of reference. The survey could then say something, as it were, about ‘single lines of descent’ but would be silent about what happened to the ‘collateral branches’, i.e. to the population that did not return to Angónia after the end of the war (see, for

example, da Corta and Venkateshwarlu 1992). Without a sampling frame for the historical reference period, the magnitude and dynamics of this out-migration remain invisible.

In this study, macro-societal events are used as mental signposts to prompt the respondent's recollection of the households' experiences throughout different periods. Mental signposts provide a reliable way of reconstructing historical processes at the household level. This study used periods (the liberation struggle, the civil war, etc.) rather than single events (the year of the drought, the year a school was constructed, etc.) as da Corta and Venkateshwarlu did in Andhra Pradesh (ibid. 107).

This module situated chronologically the household cycle. For older respondents it included questions about their participation in labour migration regimes before and after the abolition of *chibalo* and about the ensuing accommodation of production by household members that stayed behind. Younger respondents reconstructed their household productive activities before the war, events surrounding the onset of the conflict in their villages and the circumstances that led them to flee to Malawi (only a few households in the sample stayed in their village).

The central component of the module traced in detail productive and reproductive trajectories of the households as refugees, including the type of transfers received and information about labour migration within Malawi. The final part of the module enquires about the resettlement process and the transition from recovering fields, tools and cultivars to adopting tobacco.

### 3.2.9 Conducting the Interviews and in-depth follow-up

On the whole the implementation of the survey interviews was successful and gratifying. With few exceptions respondents were keen to take part in the exercise and forthcoming with information, opinions and questions. The normal feelings of suspicion on the part of the respondents were dealt with by being very direct about the academic purpose of the study.

It is the nature of surveys mediated by an interpreter that questions and answers formulated in one semantic universe do not always travel well into the other universe's signifiers. Kandiyoti refers to this aspect of field research interviews as 'phenomenological discrepancies', which tend to be more prevalent in the case of questions about causality and purpose (1999).

Questions requiring numeracy skills revealed important differences between men and women and between households with different trajectories (for instance, those schooled in Malawi). But rather than only an educational shortcoming there were problems with assuming respondents keep track of quantities of things and duration of time of time in ways that resemble that of the interviewer. For that reason, questions were reformulated to ensure that the respondent would know for sure what he/she was being asked and in which the omen of analysis fell on the researcher rather than on the respondent, though respondents were always prompted to provide their own analysis.

After the implementation of the survey was concluded a subset of respondents were selected for in-depth interviews. These were semi-structured interviews with respondents who represented groups of interest to the study, or whose experiences could shed light on specific aspects of the social organization around the production of tobacco. Most of the eldest respondents were interviewed in order to gather contextual information about historical processes and changes in the district.

Respondents selected for in-depth interviews included:

- Respondents who had a history of forced labour or long-distance labour migration during the colonial period
- Respondents who engaged in wage-labour as refugees in Malawi
- Producers who combined tobacco production with working for wages
- Women who managed their own tobacco production
- Respondents who combined tobacco production with other commercial crops
- Very large producers
- Very small producers

For interviews and all references to respondents, all names have been changed.

Table 3.8 Summary of demographic characteristics of the sample

Survey				
Producers surveyed				102
Households				101
Commercial farms				1
Respondents				
Men				81
Women				20
Mozambican				96
Malawian				5
Age of Respondents				
	Mean	Median	Minimum	Maximum
	40.75	39	16	72
	N=102		Valid	99
			Missing	3
Age cohorts				
	1	2	3	4
Born in..	< 1956	1957-1966	1967-1976	>1977
	11	21	30	37
Household size				
	Mean	Median	Minimum	Maximum
	5.63	5	2	13
	N=102		Valid	101
			Missing	1

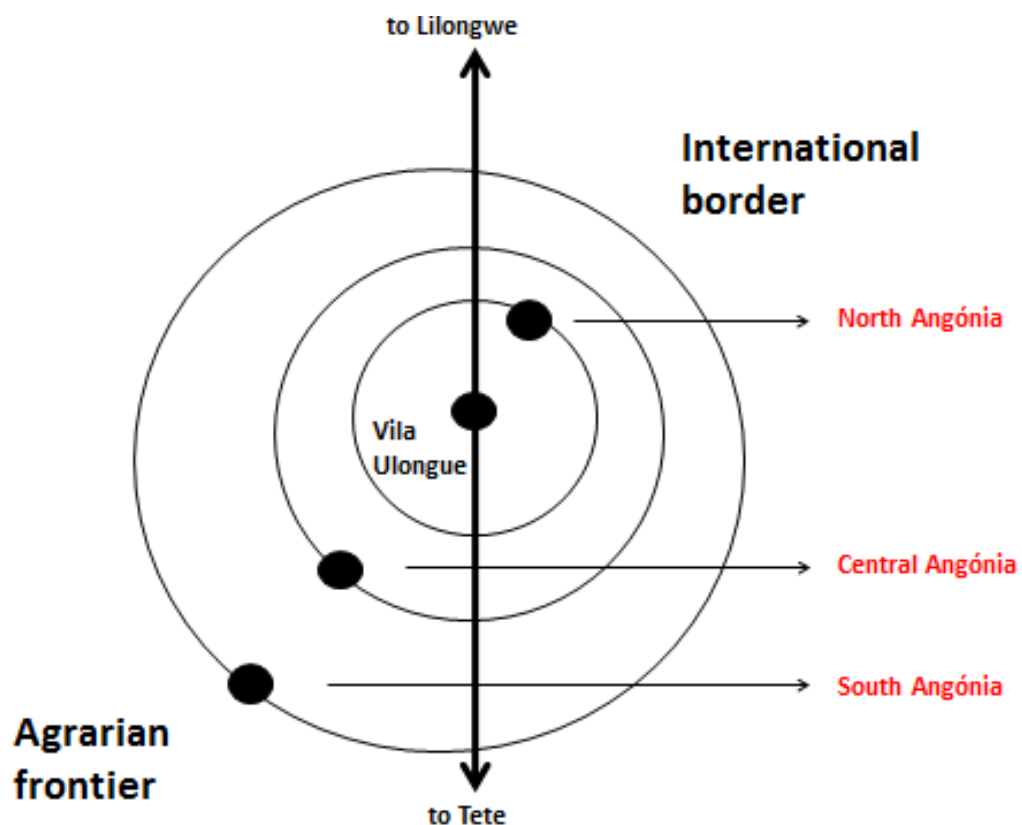
(Source: STFA)

### 3.3 Three research sites

Three areas were selected as survey clusters from information provided in the list of producers. The selection of these three clusters was made on the basis of the high concentration of producers all three areas and the contrasting conditions of production. First, a purely randomized sampling strategy covering the totality of the two zones of production would have been logistically unfeasible (see Cramer et al. 2014). By identifying the zones with most producers it could be

possible to have between 4 and 5 interviews per day. Second, large producers were concentrated in the agrarian frontier. In order to have the opportunity to observe the characteristics of tobacco production in a broad range of agricultural settings, the clusters selected were located respectively in the agricultural frontier, an intermediate area and a fully incorporated area. The dynamism of the agrarian frontier is related to tobacco production. All farmers who migrated there and have purchased land did so to grow tobacco and tobacco is more intensely produced in the agrarian frontier than elsewhere. By contrasting zones of more intense tobacco production with other zones it is possible to observe the range of effects of the agricultural boom and study more closely the reaction of the local land management institutions and the organization of production under different conditions.

Figure 3.9 Schema of survey clusters



(Source: the author)

### 3.3.1 North Angónia – fully incorporated area

The North Angónia cluster consists of a group of two villages and hamlets 20 km north of the district capital, Vila Ulongue. The cluster is located along the transversal road that connects Angónia with the Malawian market town of Lizulu, and near highway 223, the main artery between Angónia and Lilongwe (See Map 3.1). North Angónia has access to well-watered grasslands that extend to include Fulotia, the seat of Ngoni political power and the agricultural market of Madeia. North Angónia is fully incorporated to market and transport networks, close to the district capital and the oldest settlement in the sample. Transportation to and from the capital is relatively simple. There is no public transport or electricity. Villagers use bicycles, hired carts or trucks when running errands or taking produce to the different markets. Tete and Beira traders operate purchasing stations in the area, an important area of tomato production, with 1 and 5-ton trucks coming to the villages to take the produce.

Villages in North Angónia resulted from the expansion into new lands of people from the Fulotia area, in the time of inkosi Zintambira. Before moving to Fulotia, Zintambira and his people were based in the foothills of Mount Domwe, the original settlement of the Ngoni rulers. Zintambira led the main break-away of people of Ngoni descent looking for new land and fleeing conflict with kin and who came to settle in the Mang'ani area. In some villages Ngoni descendants have remained in the chieftancy and inherit the position from their father, following the Ngoni norm. The area in which this study was conducted fell under the jurisdiction of a *Nduna* (second level chief) a *Chiwanga* (third level chief) and 5 *Nyakwawas* (headmen). Fieldwork in this study confirms in part the observations by Vaughan (1983) in the Zomba region of Malawi indicating that historical processes of migration and expansion to new land are remembered by the name of the leader of the group moving. In the Zomba case earlier migration of clans headed by men and later migration of lineage segments headed by women. In the Angónia case migrations are recorded as headed by men in areas of Ngoni influence and elsewhere headed by the common maternal ancestor.

Villages in North Angónia are a few kilometres apart from each other and have separate wetland areas but there is some overlap and a dispute over a shared

dryland. According to the *Nduna*, the villages consist of 409 inhabitants. Family and kin linkages are common but not exclusive to the two villages. Both settlements are compact with all housing built either in the villages, or in the neighbouring hamlets. The houses are made of fired or adobe bricks. Families build their house within compounds that loosely follow the matrilocal norm. Each family has a kitchen and one or several rounded cane and mud granaries where maize ears, kernels and flour are safely stored from the elements, rodents and thieves. Additionally, tobacco-growing households build tobacco driers and tomato-growing households build barns for the selection and storage of tomatoes.

Life in the villages revolves around the public primary school, the water pumps and wells and a series of *bancas*, stalls selling beverages and merchandise. In the outskirts of one of the villages there is a small adobe catholic church and further ahead the Jehovah Witnesses hall. The neighbouring wetlands have been passed on and subdivided for some generations. Tending to the gardens involves intense year-round activity. For the villagers, proceeds from horticulture can be as high as income from tobacco or higher. Other crops that can be consumed, bartered or sold locally are grown in the gardens.

When comparing with the other two survey clusters, both satellite observation and survey information point to somewhat smaller, concentrated landholdings. Villagers have reservoirs for wood, reeds and straw – all used in housing and tobacco agriculture - but there are no large forests and only few shrubs and grasslands. Another important difference is the relative absence of settled recent migrants. Most of the non-native current villagers came under *chikamwini*, the prevailing matrilocal residence arrangement. As reported in the interviews, there is an intense land rental market and a less dynamic market of land for sale. The sales of land reported are for the most part made by locals and among kin or neighbours. Households commanding smaller landholdings and combining the production of tobacco and horticulture are more likely to hire local day labourers in the *ganyu* system than migrant seasonal workers and tenants.



### 3.3.2 Central Angónia

Central Angónia consists of a network of scattered neighbourhoods 30 km south of the district capital. The group of neighbourhoods is located in a low undulated terrain at 1000 metres of altitude AMSL, each settlement positioned in relation to groups of fields and riverbank gardens. Wetlands and streams are fewer and narrower in this area so that garden and horticulture work is for the most part confined to the riverbanks. Compared to the moist, clay-rich soils of North Angónia, the sandy soils in Central Angónia are considered less fertile and more dependent on the use of fertilizer. Fewer wetlands and longer distances to markets compound to make this area more reliant on rain fed agriculture and on crops less sensitive to transport times.

The dirt road to Vila Ulongue is uneven and only a couple of trucks carry people and goods each day. Some villagers will brave the +4-hour bike ride; others will walk, although many own motorcycles. Trucks and carts can be hired to carry produce to the market, but people carrying coal, firewood and single sacks of grain can be seen in all stretches of the road pushing bicycles or bringing other goods back from Vila Ulongue. The only large agricultural market within is reach Ngwenha, the district's largest agricultural market in Vila Ulongue. A considerable amount of time and effort are invested in commuting to and taking part in activities around the market.

Housing in Central Angónia is loosely distributed either side of the road, with the brick and tin roof houses of the wealthier families facing the main road and clay and straw houses behind. A line of *bancas* mark the centre of the village where women can be found selling vegetables in small quantities or wheat flour *bolos*.

Current villagers trace their origins to an eastwardly migration of Achewa population from the Nsekhera region of the neighbouring district of Macanga. Heading the migrants was the common ancestor, who passed the chieftaincy to her husband. The villagers emphasise that this was an ad hoc solution considering her closest kin, her sons, migrated for work to Rhodesia and did not return. The position is transmitted from maternal uncles to their nephews. The chiefs here recognised the authority of the paramount Ngoni chief from Fulotia,

Inkosi ya amakhosi Rafael Dama, but there are not many other Ngoni links or ancestors. In October 12, 2013 Jacinta Marcos took over from her uncle Rafael Dama as inkosikazi ya amakhosi, the first woman to become paramount chief of the Ngoni Maseko of Fulotia.

This part of Angónia is less densely populated and its settlements are more recent than those in the *localidades* closer to the Vila Ulongue-Fulotia axis. Its current economic dynamism is not matched by the extension of its administrative structures. The *localidade* has no first or second level community leadership. According to some interviewees, this part of Angónia was perceived during the colonial period as a location remote enough to provide haven to those hoping to escape taxes (*mussoco*) and forced labour (*chibalo*). But most respondents living in the area at the time experienced the rigours of the colonial regime as in other parts of the district.

With less evidence of recent inward or outward migration, kin relations dominate the spatial distribution in Central Angónia. According to the *Chiwanga* most of the inhabitants are related to one of the two *malimana* (extended families). Having been more recently settled, land in Central Angónia has not been subject to the advanced subdivision that is more evident in North Angónia. Family heads for example are said to have reserved the land that belonged to members of the family that decided to remain in Malawi after the end of the war. Land-rich respondents have for the most part inherited the land and feel positive about their ability to bequeath their offspring with enough land. Landholdings are in average larger than in North Angónia, and therefore fields that are farmed tend also to be larger. With more land to farm, the main constraint for increased production is the mobilization of labour. Larger landholdings and greater reliance on rain fed agriculture then induce a more resource-intensive type of tobacco agriculture, with hired-in casual and migrant labour being a central feature of most production units.

### 3.3.3 South Angónia

Towards the southern end of the district, the confluence of two rivers encloses extensive *Miombo* woodlands. This area has been an agricultural frontier for the

population in Angónia. The interspacing of the woodland and the archipelago of newly opened fields conveys the sense of a rapidly changing agrarian landscape. Furthermore, the narratives about autochthony and land here differ substantially from other parts of the district. The South Angónia cluster is 50 km south of Vila Ulongue and it consists of a group of loosely scattered neighbourhoods extending several kilometres along the river.

In South Angónia the presence of the state is fainter than elsewhere, with the school and a borehole on the northern end, but few other manifestations of public provision. South Angónia is predominantly inhabited by migrants. In this part of the district the compact pattern of settlement characteristic of other parts of Angónia is replaced with houses built on the fields. The proximity to the school or to the water pump, space to build a house in one's family compound - all reasons that animate households to aggregate into villages elsewhere - have little purchase in this borderland collection of strangers. In order to invigilate the tobacco leaves while they are drying, in other parts of the district villagers would build temporary straw houses next to their tobacco driers in the fields or, if they build their driers in the village, employ *ganyu* labour to bring the leaves to the drier. On the contrary, households in South Angónia, not having formed a village, prefer to build houses nearer the fields and thus reduce the walking time and the need to transport tobacco leaves over long distances after harvest.

The considerable distance to the markets accentuates the reliance on tobacco which is, with the exception of soya, the only crop transported from the farm gate by the buyer. The wetlands that even in the dry season can be up to 200 metres wide in North Angónia are in contrast very narrow in South Angónia. With fewer wetlands and more difficult access to markets the main effort is thrown into tobacco.

There is yet another important difference in South Angónia: the ubiquity of migrants, both farmers and workers. Some of the latter have bought land and settled permanently. A degree of spatial differentiation has arisen, with local families that have had long-established presence living towards the northern part of the cluster and more recently migrated farmers towards the south. The southern tip is also the part of the cluster where the largest farms have been

opened by locals and strangers. The farms in South Angónia are the largest in size in this survey and producers of large volumes of tobacco. Wealthier households have large brick houses with cement walls that stand out for their outer walls painted in bright colours. When a meeting of tobacco farmers takes place, dozens of motorcycles are parked near the venue. Large tobacco driers punctuate the landscape and seasonal housing made of straw accommodates tenants and migrant workers. The scale of production that allows for setting up these compounds is unknown to other parts of the sub-district (the other two research sites included) and comparable only to the tobacco growing region of Nkhame in neighbouring Domwe.

The first settlers in South Angónia arrived three generations ago as a splinter of a Nsenga group from the Fort Jameson area (current day Chipata in Zambia). One of the areas is named after the first son born to the original migrants in the new settlement. He was the maternal uncle of the present *Chiwanga*. South Angónia has incorporated migrant farmers and labourers from different parts of the District and from Malawi. Migration creates longstanding bonds with the villages of origin and encourages other patterns of interaction. It is not uncommon to find that the sons of matrilineal men marry in their father's original village and the sisters of matrilineal wives marry men from the family of their brothers-in-law. Young men that have come as migrant workers can marry in the family for which they worked or in other neighbouring families. Farmers can help their former tenants in the process of buying land to settle. These types of interactions are more common in South Angónia than in the older settlements of the district and shape the relations of production and the emergence of property regimes. Data from the 1997 census report 228 inhabitants in 55 family units, but a process of demographic expansion has since accelerated. According to one of the *Nyankwawas*, in his jurisdiction alone there are currently 99 families divided in three *malimana*.

The influx of migrants may have been a pre-war feature, but in the last decade the patterns of migration and access to land have shifted. Strangers began approaching the *malimana* asking to buy larger tracts of land for tobacco. Accumulation and expansion of tobacco growers has increased the demand for work and stimulated the influx of seasonal workers. There is willingness on the

part of heads of *malimana* and *Nyakwawa* to allow strangers to buy land. There is only apprehension that the land is sold at low prices or that the proceeds of the sales are not invested productively. In contrast with North Angónia, land transactions are not predominantly between villagers and neighbours but between the *malimana* and strangers. *Chiponda Chaminga* (lit. to step on thorns) is a metonym that has emerged to name the procedure whereby land ownership is transferred and describes a payment that is meant to compensate for the inconvenience of taking to the bush to show a newcomer the confines of the land allocated. The euphemism is probably in use because locals are aware that selling land outright is not contemplated in the Mozambican legal framework. But this agricultural expansion is neither exclusive to migrants (also local farmers have expanded) nor universal (social differentiation is more acute in South Angónia than elsewhere). Figure 3.9 shows a schema of the survey clusters.

## **Chapter IV: Colonial Angónia, taming a frontier and the making of a labour reserve**

### **4.1 Introduction**

Studies of contemporary processes of agricultural commercialization in Mozambique seldom involve the examination of the broader agrarian structure in historical perspective. The most notable exception is the work of Bridget O’Laughlin, who has carefully reconstructed the importance of social struggles around commodification and proletarianization in understanding contemporary poverty in Mozambique (2000, 2002). A similar interpretation was put forward in the reports of the Centro de Estudos Africanos, published in 1983, just as the civil war was spreading to Angónia. This study of tobacco contract farming in post-war Angónia provides further evidence supporting the argument that ahistorical approaches risk calling the old new and obscuring structural drivers of change.

It is argued here that in order to understand the present configuration of agrarian relations in Angónia, it is necessary to refer to the history of relations of production in the district. This chapter focuses on the formation of a labour reserve in Angónia during the colonial period, and chapter V reconstructs the labour experiences that refugees from Angónia had in Malawi. The critical importance of both processes – forced labour during the colonial period and wage employment during the Mozambican civil war - is corroborated by the survey of tobacco producers in which a majority of households report a long history of labour migration and wage-employment. Furthermore, some of the features of the mobilization of labour experienced by the older respondents as well as by the fathers of the younger respondent while working for wages, have now been incorporated into contemporary tobacco production. The widespread mobilization of migrant labourers is the most salient characteristic.

A cursory comparison of the productive structure of Angónia during the colonial period with the present would likely conclude that the district is thoroughly transformed. While at the peak of the *prazo* system men were conscripted into

forced and migrant labour and households became dependent on wages earned outside the district, there is no evidence of substantial outmigration in contemporary Angónia. One out of three households is now involved in a contract farming scheme for the production of tobacco, meaning that most of these households' earnings are produced in agriculture on their own land. The contrast between long distance migrant labourers remitting wages in the colonial period and widespread cash cropping today would suggest that the present reality is practically the reverse of the structure that prevailed in the era of forced labour.

However, a more thorough examination of the formation of an agrarian regime and its transformation allows for a critical interrogation of this purported opposition in two ways. First, because the colonial agrarian structure provided the foundation of the transformation, a synchronic examination would not pick up causal pathways. Second, the contrast between colonial wage-earners and contemporary cash-croppers is only an opposition on the surface. The historical analysis in Chapters V and VI shows that the dynamics of household production in Angónia have been historically shaped by wage labour experiences. The examination of the contemporary contract farming scheme in Chapter VI shows that the 'return' to own-account agriculture is not a case of 're-peasantization' but a variation of the historical engagement of this labour force with agribusiness capital.

#### 4.1.1 A transition in the *longue durée*

Three broad structural transformations have taken place in Angónia since the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. First, the spatial location of capital and labour shifted: Colonial Angónia was a populated hinterland far beyond the control of the colonial administration. Angónia's 'pacification' was only deemed completed in 1902, it was administered by a concessionary company until 1930 and it did not attract productive investment until the 1940s. Therefore, throughout this period, men were forced to migrate for wages either because they had been conscripted by the forced labour regime or because they were escaping it.

The colonial regime transferred labour from Angónia into the centres of accumulation in the lower Zambezi and the neighbouring British colonies and protectorates. Peasants in Angónia were forcibly uprooted and sent annually to work abroad. In stark contrast, the current integration of Angónia's labour reserve into the circuits of production does not require this type of migration any longer. Agribusiness capital can now effectively penetrate the hinterland and appropriate surplus value from the farmers working on their own land. Labour exploitation has been premised, both in the colonial period and now, on the district's location in the periphery. This political geography of space as (dis)location shaped the relative mobility – and ultimately the interaction - of capital, labour and commodities.

Second, in this period Angónia became integrated into regional labour and commodity markets. Early labour mobilization through extra-economic, frequently violent, mechanisms was replaced with forms of market compulsion. Households found it increasingly difficult to sustain themselves on the basis of subsistence agriculture and became dependent on their engagements with the market. It has been persuasively argued that this transformation was historically contingent but irreversible (Arrighi 1970, O'Laughlin 2002).

Third, the period witnessed an acceleration of social differentiation. On the one hand, engagement with markets turned a barely differentiated peasantry into myriad class configurations. On the other hand, the advancing commodification of land has resulted more recently in the emergence of vernacular land markets, in a context that legally precludes private property rights. The following chapters will elaborate on these processes (shifted mobility of labour and capital; the emergence of market compulsion; and the resulting social differentiation) by looking at three periods in the history of the relations of production in Angónia: first, the colonial phase of forced and migratory labour; second, the labour experiences of the population of Angónia living as refugees in Malawi during the Mozambican civil war; and third, the current period of adoption and rapid expansion of high value agricultural exports produced under contract.



#### 4.1.2 The political creation of a labour reserve

The formation of Angónia in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century resulted from a host of political and military struggles. At the local level Chewa groups were invaded by Ngoni bands migrating north from Zululand. At the regional level the colonial administration, unable to control this periphery, delegated the ‘pacification’ of Angónia first to borderland privateers and then to concessionary companies. At a geopolitical level, Angónia became a fault line of the dispute between the Portuguese and British empires over the territories of Central Southern Africa. Only in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was Angónia decisively included in Portuguese East Africa; its military ‘pacification’ had been completed by the colonial army; the borders with the British Protectorate of Nyasaland were settled and the Ngoni had become the regional political elite.

During the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Angónia was transformed from an ungovernable periphery into a labour reserve. The territorial consolidation of the colonial state came in tandem with the introduction of a forced labour regime and poll taxes. The introduction of these measures and the population’s reaction to them changed the character of Angónia. Furthermore, it is claimed here that the change was more dramatic in Angónia than in other *prazos* because Angónia was one of the most densely populated *prazos* in the hinterland. Having no local industry and not being connected to agricultural markets during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, in order for the population of Angónia to comply with forced labour and tax payments they were forced to migrate considerable distances in search for sources of cash income. This was the predicament of many peasants in isolated Southern African hinterlands: ‘In those areas located far from the centres of capitalist development (...) the only way to earn money to pay taxes was to sell their labour-time’ (Arrighi 1970, 208). Angónia is an extreme case in the Mozambican context as it was one of the few hinterland pockets of concentrated population. The following sections explore the consequences of the prolonged absence of the majority of the male population from Angónia.

However, toward the end of the colonial period migration to the traditional labour destinations was losing steam. *Chibalo* (forced labour) was legally abolished in 1962 but persisted unofficially until independence. South Africa

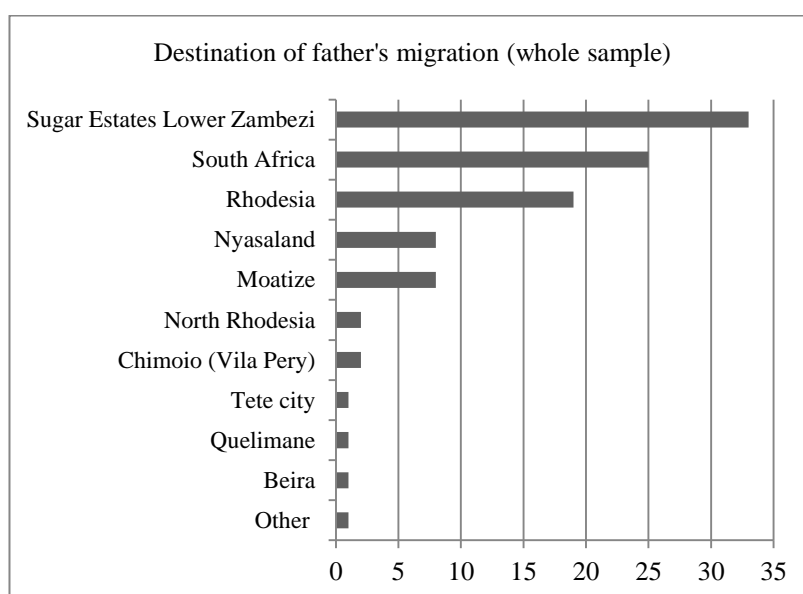
pushed out the majority of the Mozambican labour force, while the sugar companies of the Lower Zambezi reacted to the change of regime by progressively disinvesting. The post-independence period brought economic crisis and growing political instability (Newitt 1995, Buur et al. 2011). However, at the same time that Mozambican independence hindered labour migration to South Africa, Rhodesia and the Lower Zambezi, the Malawian tobacco and sugar sectors experienced accelerated growth. During the 1970s the development of estate agriculture in Malawi was so robust and labour-intensive that it was responsible for re-absorbing almost 10 per cent of the economically active population in Malawi that until 1972 had been working abroad (Christiansen and Kydd 1983; Prowse 2013). Unsurprisingly, youth in Angónia - particularly those who entered the labour force in the 1970s - migrated for the most part to Malawi, which had until then been a non-traditional destination.

Analysis of the survey of tobacco farmers in Angónia (STFA) implemented in the fieldwork for this dissertation attests to the intensity of labour migration and supports the progression suggested in the literature. A survey exercise is a robust way of studying historical labour migration flows and life cycles. Because of the prominence of clandestine migration from Angónia during the colonial period, official statistical information and employers' private records may be biased. On the contrary, asking respondents about their father's labour migration did not seem to pose any difficulty. All respondents remember the destinations and are no longer prevented from discussing them openly both if they were clandestine or not. On the other hand anything beyond a very tentative dating of those movements would have been impossible. Figure 4.1 shows the father's labour migration destination for all the Mozambican respondents in the sample of contemporary tobacco farmers. Because the age range of the respondents is wide (16-72 years-old), it follows that the data include parental migrations that took place in different periods.

Of the 95 valid responses in the sample, having only included farmers born in Mozambique, the results showed that in 70 per cent of cases the respondent's father had been a labour migrant (Figure 4.1). In 16 per cent of cases this migration was *chibalo*, 22 per cent said labour migration was *serufu* (voluntary or clandestine) and the rest did not know. The majority of these migrants had

contracts in more than one destination over their lifetime. The Lower Zambezi was the most frequent destination followed by South Africa and Rhodesia. This chapter will analyse these observations in historical context.

Figure 4.1 Parental labour migrations by destination

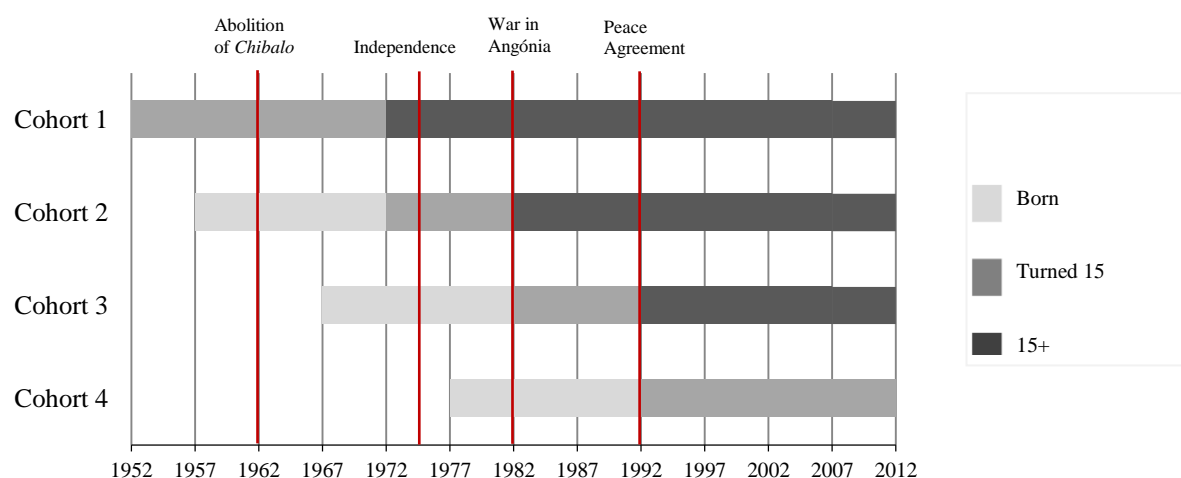


(Source: STFA)

#### *Disaggregating labour experiences by cohorts*

Some of the respondents in the sample were old enough to have been labour migrants before independence. In order to understand how labour migration changed over time, the sample of all Mozambican men was subdivided into four cohorts using as a threshold the approximate age at which males would enter the labour force: 15. Although in exceptional cases women would accompany their husbands to the labour migration destination, the labour legislation in force during the colonial period made labour mandatory only for able-bodied men from 14-60 (Figure 4.2 is a visual representation of the lifespan of different cohorts).

Figures 4.2 and 4.3 All eligible men in the sample divided in age cohorts



(Source: STFA)

	<i>Turned 15</i>	<i>Born</i>	<i>Age in 2012</i>	<i>n</i>
Cohort 1	Before Independence	Before 1956	+57	7
Cohort 2	Before War	1957-1966	47-56	15
Cohort 3	During War	1967-1976	37-46	23
Cohort 4	After War	After 1977	U36	31

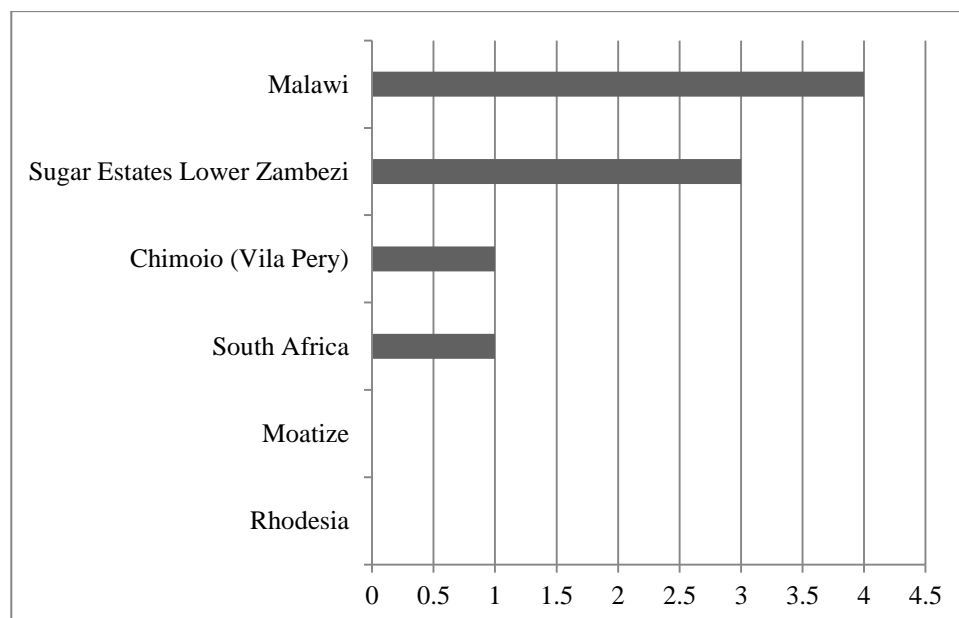
(Source: STFA)

Cohort 1 includes all males born on or before 1956, corresponding roughly to people that turned 15 any time before independence. It is expected that this cohort represents the type of labour engagement typical of the late colonial period. Cohort 2 includes all men born between 1957 and 1966 i.e. people that turned 15 in the decade before the beginning of the civil war in Angónia. This cohort's labour experiences before the war are likely to be representative of the type of labour migration of the first years after independence. Cohort 3 corresponds to those born between 1967 and 1976, men that turned 15 during the civil war. Cohort 4, men born after 1977, includes only those who turned 15

after the end of the war. Only cohorts 1 and 2 will be discussed in this Chapter about the colonial period, but it is cohorts 3 and 4 that concentrate most of the respondents in the survey (because of the demographic age-pyramid). Chapters V and VI will examine the labour experiences of all four cohorts during and after the civil war.

All males in cohorts 1 and 2 were asked about their own labour migration experiences before the civil war. Unsurprisingly, cohort 1 includes a very small number of respondents: there are few tobacco farmers that are currently active and older than 57. Remarkably, all but one of them had been long-distance migrant labourers in more than just one destination. The only respondent in this cohort that did not work before the war had migrated to Malawi during the independence struggle. Within this cohort Malawi was the most frequent destination (Figure 4.3). To compensate for the small number of respondents in this cohort, semi-structured interviews were conducted with elder men in all three sites (see Interviews).

Figure 4.3 Cohort 1, long distance labour migration by destination



(Source: STFA)

Cohort 2 consisted of 15 respondents, of whom 9 migrated and all went to Malawi. This corresponds to 60 per cent of those surveyed in this cohort. These migrations took place in the decade before the Mozambican civil war and are linked to the development of the Malawian tobacco sector in the 1970s mentioned above.

Taken together the tables suggest the intense labour migration history in a random sample of contemporary farmers. Of all those surveyed, 70 per cent were sons and daughters of migrant labourers. Of the Mozambican males in our sample born before 1956, 85 per cent were long-distance labour migrants, and 60 per cent of those born in 1957-1966, were also long distance migrants. The analysis of the history of labour migration will be completed in Chapter V with the examination of more recent experiences. First, the remainder of this chapter explains the context in which Angónia became a labour reserve and postulates some consequences of this.

#### **4.2. The making of Angónia**

‘Angónia’, ‘Angoniland’, ‘Ngoni’ have been used interchangeably to denote different regions and people. The signifiers of these names have changed throughout the period, in accordance with the emergence of an international borderline, the advent of state-building projects along the Kirk Range plateau and the movement of peoples and identities.

These names perpetuate a semantic imposition. There is no confined and contiguous region encompassing ‘Angoniland’, nor does the constitution of this people fit neatly into the signifier. In Mozambique, the meaning of ‘Angónia’ is now strongly associated with a provincial district. But despite the Ngoni invasions of the 1860s that gave the name to the region, the district and the people living in the highland, ‘Ngoni’ has never denoted a taxonomic unit, but rather a collection of peoples of different origins. In contrast, in Malawi the ‘Mangoni’ have a presence undisturbed by the creation of an administrative unit and cemented on historical narratives of the role of the Ngoni invasions in the making of the nation and on the still vigorous Ngoni chieftaincies in northern and central Malawi (McCracken 2013).

The people living today in the Angónia highlands are descendants of at least two different groups: Achewas who lived under the larger umbrella of the Maravi Kingdom and the Maseko Ngoni, one of several segments of Nguni groups that started a northward migration from Zululand in the early 19th century. The Ngoni reached the highlands for the second and final time around 1865. The ways in which people construct relations of kinship, descent, residence, property, succession and inheritance today in Angónia resulted fundamentally from the amalgamation of these two very different societal structures, which are therefore central to the argument of this study. Other important influences were the Scottish missionaries and Jesuits that built missions in the region from 1880. The colonial states would only start vying for domination of the region in the period leading to the Berlin conference and their actual bureaucratic presence would only be felt in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Englund 2002, Newitt 1995).

#### 4.2.1 North of the Zambezi and south of Lake Malawi: the Chewa

Chichewa-speaking groups had settled in the 16<sup>th</sup> century around the Maue and Namanse valleys which roughly correspond to the present-day district of Angónia. These groups were part of the erstwhile Maravi Kingdom, which at its height extended from the Indian Ocean to the western shores of Lake Malawi. Warfare and enslavement, frequently triggered by droughts and famine, were prevalent in the region throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the Maravi kingdom was periodically subject to fierce attacks because it dominated the coveted fertile lands around Lake Malawi (McCracken 2013, Newitt 1995).

The matrilineal groups that made up the Maravi cluster expanded on the basis of the introduction of maize agriculture. Their position as intermediaries in the important trade routes for ivory and slaves extending from the Central African kingdoms to the Portuguese and Swahili traders in the Indian Ocean also proved decisive (Newitt 1995, Coelho 1993). As with other groups from the Maravi cluster, Chewa were predominantly matrilineal, organized in *mabele* (matrilineal segments). Each *bele* consisted of the older common ancestor (a woman), all of her daughters and unmarried sons and all their children and grandchildren. Her

husband and her sons-in-law were incorporated to form the *banja* (residential family) (Rita Ferreira 1966, Matos 1969, Blom 2002).

Chewa practiced matrilineal residence: new couples would work and eat with the wife's parents for a season or two and while they started farming land allocated to the wife. Such matrilineal marriages were the norm and are still called *Chikamwini* (Matos 1969, Englund 2002). The eldest matrilineal male relative, the *Nkhosue*, was in charge of counselling and made decisions within the *bele*.

Chewa expanded through matrilineal segmentation. Their settlement combined high population *density* with low population *concentration*. Angónia is atypical in more sparsely populated Mozambique: a highland dotted with hundreds of small villages. New villages remained loosely connected to the original village and included one or two segments: the founders, two or three generations and their affines (Rita-Ferreira 1966, Matos 1969).

The introduction of maize by slave-traders, missionaries and merchants in the 16<sup>th</sup> century sustained this demographic growth and the extension of the agricultural frontier among the Chewa. The adoption of maize signalled the penetration of mercantile imperialism and revolutionized food production and consumption in the Zambezi valley. According to Vaughan, maize had been adopted in southern Malawi before the 18<sup>th</sup> century but only became the staple diet in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (1987). Newitt found Jesuit *prazos* in Tete receiving most of their tribute in maize by 1759 (1995). By the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century maize had replaced sorghum as the main food crop grown throughout southern Africa. Reports of food practices in Angónia in 1929 and 1947 found maize as the indisputable staple in the highlands (Viana 1947, 'Tres anos na missão' 1929). Maize produces more food per unit of labour and land than the alternative staples and is an ideal first year crop for a field that has just been cleared. However, mono-cropping and maize-centric diets characteristic of present-day Zambia and Malawi (and by extension neighbouring Angónia) are also symptomatic of widespread poverty. Malawi and Zambia are the countries in the world with the highest consumption of maize in the population's diet. Maize covers 90 per cent of the cultivated land in Malawi and provides 54 per cent of the total caloric intake (McCann 2001).



It has been suggested that groups in the Central African matrilineal belt were good at solving the social challenge of recruiting labour through marriage: ‘In poor agrarian systems such as those in traditional matrilineal regions across the centre of Africa, a man’s labour is more valuable than any fixed capital: land is generally plentiful, labour is scarce’ (Douglas 1969, 130).

Matrilineal segmentation, maize and dependable rainfall extended the Chewa footprint. But devoid of robust political centralization, the Chewa were not geared to resist the Ngoni invasions. Although Chichewa-speaking groups vastly outnumbered the newcomers, the Ngoni had a highly centralized organization around chieftaincies and a military vocation honed in battles and raids that had sustained them on their way north. In addition, the colonial administration had been incapable of containing their advance, to the extent that the Ngoni occupied 28 of the 46 *prazos* of Tete, seriously compromising the foundations of the colonial project (Isaacman and Peterson 2003). The matrilineal segmentation had allowed the Chewa territorial expansion but had not created a politically unified and centralized state capable of repelling the Ngoni.

#### 4.2.2 Warriors from the south: Ngoni invaders and their captives

The group identified as Ngoni is a more recent addition to the Angónia social landscape. Warrior bands of the Maseko Ngoni invaded Angónia in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century having previously been pushed away from Zululand by a wave of violent clashes. Nguni migrations swept through Central Southern Africa. This period was labelled in the scholarly literature of the 1960s as the *Mfecane*. The categorization of this violent scramble out of Zululand as tribal warfare and its putative explanations have been the subject of great debate (Cobbing 1988, Peires 1993, Etherington 2004). Nguni groups migrating in the period established the Gaza Empire south of the Save River and the Ndebele Nation in its final settlement in Southern Rhodesia. Other groups broke away and proceed further north to Songea in Tanganyika; Fort Jameson in Northern Rhodesia, the southern shores of Lake Tanganyika and around Lake Malawi, see Map 4.2 (Newitt 1995). Sometime after 1865, the Maseko Ngoni settled around Mount Domwe and called it ‘our place’ (*kwathu*) (Map 4.2). The Ngoni

developed as a 'snowball state', a group of specialised warriors that took male and female captives and incorporated them into the group. In consequence, there was limited ethnic uniformity to migrant Ngoni. The 1890 Anglo-Portuguese agreement separated Mangoni groups either side of the border (Englund 2002). and sealed the 'contorted outline' of modern central Mozambique (Newitt 1995, 355). Although the Ngoni invasions led to chaos and disarray in the *prazo* system, the presence of the militarily adept Ngoni in the borderland was later capitalized on by the Portuguese. Ngoni mercenaries helped the Portuguese push out the Afro-Portuguese *prazo*-holders of Angónia in 1902 and suppress the Bárue rebellion of 1917 (Matos 1969, Newitt 1995).

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century aspirant chief Zintambira led a segment of Mangoni out of Mount Domwe and into the *dambo* floodlands of present day Fulotia. The Ngoni advanced on Chewa villages and imposed their more centralized forms of government. Later, when Ngoni segments separated, the new villages remained under the rule of the *Nduna* (the head of a group of villages), and Ngoni settlements recognized the authority of the *inkosi* (the paramount chief). However, their patrilineal kin and virilocal residence came into contradiction with the practices of matrilineal Chewa around which they had settled and within which they hoped to marry (Blom 2002). Fewer in number and needing to transform their military might - advantageous for migration and invasion - into sedentary reproductive capacity, the Ngoni became progressively assimilated into the conquered Chewa.

If the co-option of the Ngoni mercenaries was central to the final 'pacification' of Angónia by the Portuguese, the Ngoni political hegemony over the Chewa owed much to their recognition by the colonial authorities. The integration of Chewa and Ngoni was the result of a military invasion, but in the long run resulted in an uneven amalgamation that did not mobilize divisive autochthony identities. Englund notes that Chewa villages that came under Ngoni political control experienced the process more as a change of allegiances than as a social revolution (2002, 41).

Fieldwork for this study confirmed the malleability of social relations. Kinship is currently predominately ambilineal, allowing people to draw on a wide range of

social relations. Matrilocal residence remains dominant, but other residential patterns are accommodated. Newly formed couples tend to live around the wife's parents and frequently the main field they farm is the one received from them, but the purchase and rental of fields and gardens attenuates the role of kin relations as sole source of land.

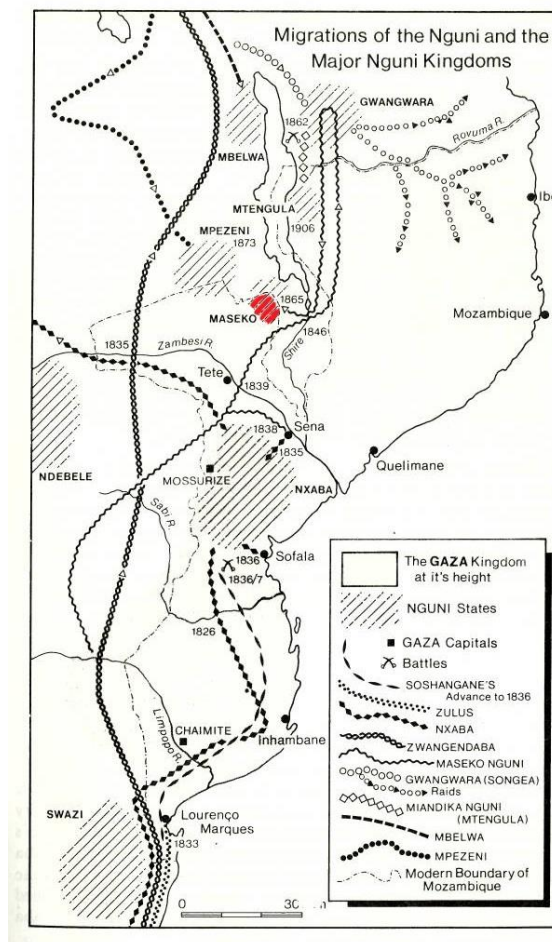
More importantly, local political forms also converged. Decisions around land occupation and use remained in the realm of the family, with family and village heads following matrilineal succession in the Chewa tradition. Groups of villages could be overseen by chiefs following patrilineal succession in the Ngoni tradition, but the chieftaincy level was marginalized from decisions at the village level, particularly those concerning land.

At the time of Matos' fieldwork in 1964 there was no evidence of a market for land, nor were political authorities consulted about inheritance and conflicts over land use in Angónia. 'Sale of land is not practiced, perhaps for the simple reason that no one will pay for that which he (*sic.*) can have free' (1969, 206). *Nyakwawas* (village heads) would only intervene when strangers requested land, and in such cases would do so only to indicate which family claimed property over which area of land. In contrast with the experience of other African regions, in Angónia political authority did not consolidate on the basis of managing land but rather on the basis of mobilizing forced labour, as the next section will show.

### **4.3 The formation of the colonial agrarian structure**

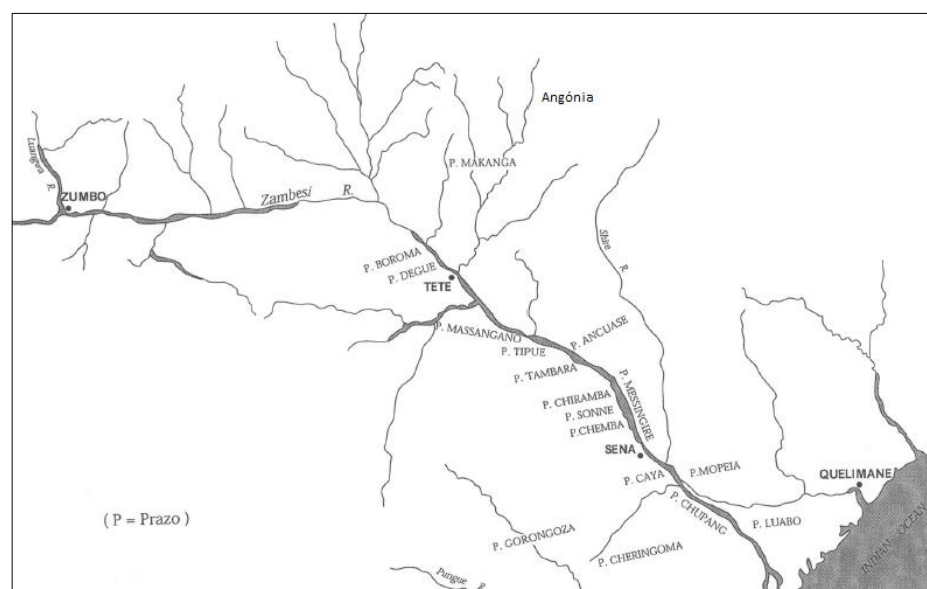
Angónia constitutes a unique case with which to test the validity of O'Laughlin's proposition that contemporary rural livelihoods in Mozambique are the result of a historical process of proletarianization itself driven by the colonial forced labour regime (2002, CEA 1983). Angónia was a labour reserve of foremost importance during the colonial period and the extremely intense extraction of long distance migrant labour power from Angónia had a long-lasting impact on the organization of agricultural production in the district. Among other things, it produced a rapid commodification of goods and services; shaped the experiences of refugees during the war and constitutes the key factor explaining the rapid expansion of tobacco contract farming schemes, as

Map 4.1 Nguni migrations and states in East Southern Africa, 19<sup>th</sup> century.



(Source: Newitt, 1995)

Map 4.2 Portuguese *prazos* in the Zambezi ca. 1650



(Source: Isaacman and Peterson, 2003)

discussed in Chapter VI. While these conditions are valid for the main tobacco producing borderlands of Tete and Niassa, nowhere are they more acute than in Angónia, the largest labour reserve then and the main tobacco producer today.

#### 4.3.1 Territorial consolidation and colonial expansion in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century

Three macro-processes converged in Angónia during the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. First, new terms for the recruitment and mobilization of labour emerged to compensate for the mid-century abolition of slavery in British and French colonies. Although traders found new ways of smuggling slaves, other transitional forms of compulsory work replaced the profits obtained in the slave trade. East Africa had been the main source of the slave trade in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Vail and White propose that introduction of a forced labour regime (once the slave trade was at least nominally banned in the region) became the main channel for colonial accumulation (1980). Second, capitalist mining and agriculture prospered in neighbouring Rhodesia and in the Transvaal. Demand for labour increased rapidly and local competition started to push wages up. Emerging capitalists in the Rand opted to turn to migrant labour from Mozambique as way to contain the local labour force and lower their wages. By the end of the 1890s, half of the labour force used in the mines came from Mozambique. Migrant workers were banned from settling in their labour destinations and their employment conditions were purposively made precarious in order to create dependence. The resort to migrant labour was instrumental to the process of accumulation by disempowering local workers; a pliant migrant labour force continuously affected by instability and poverty was created and the costs of reproduction of the labour force shifted onto their households (Vail and White 1980, Newitt 1995). Third, the presence of the Portuguese colonial state, which had been until then tenuous, was outsourced to private concessionaries with the creation of territorial concessions for tax collection, known as *prazos*.

Towards the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the colonial presence in Portuguese East Africa was limited to strategic trading posts along the Indian Ocean coast and military garrisons along the Zambezi. The Portuguese crown did not have

the means to sustain a more effective occupation of the colony (Isaacman and Isaacman 1991). The region of Tete in the mid-Zambezi valley was geographically distinct from the rest of Mozambique. Tete was a quasi-exclave, transversal to all other Mozambican regions, functionally disconnected from the coast and surrounded by British colonies and protectorates on all but one side. Not only was Tete relatively isolated from the Portuguese administration on the coast, but it was readily integrated into the dynamics of production in the neighbouring British territories (Tornimbeni 2000). This is important, as the dynamism of the British colonies increasingly contrasted with the sluggishness of Portuguese strategies for economic development. Unsurprisingly, as Mozambique became assimilated into the regional dynamic mainly as a provider of cheap labour to its neighbours, Tete became a core source of labour for Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and subsequently for the Rand mines.

Angónia's hinterland location also meant that for most of the period, despite the region's renowned fertility, estate and plantation agriculture was unviable there since demand in Mozambique was lacking. Furthermore, transport routes from Angónia to Sofala and Quelimane were impracticable (Coelho 1991, Neves 1991). Cash crop production was therefore constrained by spatial relations, as proposed in Chapter II.

The colonial administration was aware of its limitations in the occupation of Zambezi Valley. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century it formalized the *prazos*, regimes of delegated territorial administration. *Prazos* were long-term emphyteutic land leases which gave leaseholders the right to carry tax collection on behalf of the state, in return for a percentage of the intake. The leaseholder was in charge of occupying and developing the area, collecting poll taxes and paying the Portuguese administration an annuity equivalent to 50 per cent of the revenue. In return, *prazo*-holders would retain the remainder and had the right to receive taxes in the form of work, *chibalo* (Newitt 1993, 217).

A distinction was made between the *prazos* in the lower Zambezi, conceived of as areas of economic development, and the *prazos* of Tete, envisaged as areas of military expansion. *Prazos* in Tete were in the most westerly frontier of the colony and were frequently invaded or abandoned. They were a foothold for

commercial penetration and military contention in the borderlands, but were not ready for more ambitious investment. Faced with the difficulty of persuading Portuguese settlers to take on these leases, it was a class of powerful and autonomous Afro-Portuguese private agents and their military entourage, the *achikunda*, who became leaseholders. The *achikunda* were slaves turned soldiers, armed by the *prazo*-holders to collect taxes and police the concession and its borders. *Achikunda* would physically punish tax-evaders, suppress revolts and prevent people in the *prazo* from fleeing to other territories (Isaacman and Peterson 2003). Some of the *prazos* became equivalent to local tributary kingdoms and it became progressively more difficult for the colonial administration to control Afro-Portuguese *prazo*-holders. By the late 17<sup>th</sup> century *Prazo Angónia* was in the hands of the Pereiras, an Afro-Goan family sent to overpower Chewa groups. The Pereiras sealed military allegiances and waged war with local groups. They also profited from raiding for slaves within their *prazos* (Rita-Ferreira 1966, Blom 2002). Map 4.1 shows the *prazos* and the Angónia highlands as an outpost in the Zambezi basin before the demarcation of the borders.

A new regulation of the *prazo* system introduced in 1890 ruled that *prazos* in Tete, which were not yet pacified, would only be leased for a maximum of ten years. In this case, *prazo*-holders would be obliged to pacify the territory and would have the prerogative of collecting the newly introduced *mussoco*, the colonial poll taxes (Neves 1991, Vail and White 1980, Newitt 1995, Coelho 1991). While the 1890 reform of *prazos* was intended to attract individual Portuguese lease-holders, the decision was made to extend the tenders to privately-owned foreign companies. Foreign-owned chartered companies were set up to raise finance in Metropolitan financial centres to invest overseas and subsequently they became the dominant holders of *prazo* concessions in Central Mozambique (Coelho 1991, Vail and White 1980).

Territorial concessions to chartered companies became extensive in Portuguese East Africa. At its peak, the majority of the territory was leased under charter. The companies exerted enormous power in the administration of the concessions,

as well as benefitting from lax control by the state. In 1907 126 out of 134 *prazos* in Tete were granted to the *Zambesia Company*, including *Prazo Angónia* and neighbouring *Prazo Macanga* which together concentrated 69 per cent of the *prazo* population in Tete (Coelho 1991, Tornimbeni 2000).

The *Zambesia Company* did not have the means to exploit *prazo Angónia* and proceeded to sub-lease it to a private entrepreneur, Raphael Bivar. Attempts by Bivar to develop commercial agricultural were unsuccessful. Bivar was also reluctant to accept tax payments in kind because transport and commercialization were impossible. The lack of transport connection to central Mozambique was a determinant of the spatial construction of Angónia as a borderland. It also placed its inhabitants in a different spatial configuration vis-à-vis other people in Mozambique. People in Angónia were far away from jobs and unable to engage in cash cropping. The direct road from Tete to Angónia was only finalized in 1973. Before that year the road through Furancungo or the Malawian road to Zobe were used (Franky, *Interview*). In 1911 on a visit to *Prazo Angónia*, a colonial inspector lamented that ‘no one uses Portuguese coinage’, ‘roads there are not worth discussing’ and ‘there is no commercial agriculture in the whole *prazo*’. The report ends on a sombre note: ‘I have hereby proved that government here is a fiction.’ (Aragão e Mello 1911, 453).

With no sources of local employment, limited trade and hefty tax obligations, people in labour reserves were forced to migrate in search of wage-employment within Mozambique or to evade the system by migrating on their own to the British colonies to work in mines and plantations. This migration was illegal and clandestine, but encouraged by Bivar in order to secure the payment of *mussoco* (Coelho 1991, 1993, Tornimbeni 2000). Rhodesian mines and plantations in particular employed migrant labour from Angónia as opposed to local workers because locals were themselves attracted by higher wages and better work conditions offered in the Rand mines. Further, Rhodesian mines and plantations recruited workers in reserves such as Angónia, rather than in other Mozambican regions where people could sell agricultural produce to pay the *mussoco*. In such regions there was an escape valve to resist forced labour, and by extension, labour migration (Neves 1991).



#### 4.3.2 The 1899 labour code and the making of the labour reserve

With Portugal emerging from depression in 1895, then Royal Commissioner for Mozambique António Enes and, later, the Governor General Mouzinho de Albuquerque believed that in order to develop the colonies it was necessary to act more proactively to attract investors. It was expected that by stabilizing the labour supply and lowering the costs of recruitment, low wage-costs would increase the commercial appeal of the colony.

A series of reforms after 1896 increased the *mussoco* fees by 50 per cent and the new labour code of 1899 extended compulsory work –*chibalo*– from *prazo* inhabitants to all able-bodied ‘native’ males in the colonies, with the exception of those who had enough capital or a profession and those cultivating cash-crops or working for the administration. In 1909 it was estimated that a man in Angónia had to work for a whole month to pay his and his wife’s *mussoco*. Alternatively he could make a round trip to Tete as bearer as long as the employer secured back load (Secretaria 1909).

In this way colonial accumulation was constructed around the complementarity of forced labour and taxation. Faced with the difficulty of extracting value from independent peasantries with access to land, the introduction of poll taxes created pressure for the population to find sources of monetary income. Forced labour then became the main mechanism channelling the payment of taxes. In its maturity the system’s motivation would be reversed with taxes becoming the guarantee that people had to remain within the wage labour circuit. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century wages would be carefully calibrated to ensure that people had to work for longer periods and the working time necessary to pay *mussoco* increased from around 3 weeks per year at the time the regulations were introduced to 4 months when they were abolished in 1962 (Newitt 1995, Head 1980).

The territory of colonial Mozambique contained few areas of high population density and this made *Prazo* Angónia unique and coveted. When agro-processing flourished in the Lower Zambezi valley the forced labour system adapted to provide it with cheap migrant labour by rounding-up labour pools with censuses and taxes and restricting the movement of the population with

pass regulations. Squadrons of *sipaios* would comb the *prazos* looking for deserters and snatching all those unable to pay *mussoco* (Newitt 1995). According to Aragão e Mello, abuses were ripe in tax collection in Angónia. People were charged for children and émigrés and those that could not pay *mussoco* would be regularly beaten by the *sipaios*. 'Natives in Angónia are poor and miserable. Their only ambition is to pay their *mussoco* and then to be left in peace' (1911, 140). In conjunction with forced labour, the *prazo* system in central Mozambique had the effect of suppressing wages: throughout the period weekly wages in central Mozambique were estimated to be between 25 and 90 per cent lower than in Southern Mozambique (Neves 1991; Vail and White 1980, 134).

Forced labour was justified by the administration on civilizing, moral and economic grounds. The state became progressively more efficient at mobilizing labour on the basis of coercion and violence. Older men interviewed in Angónia who had been recruited for *chibalo* recall being hand-cuffed in the journey from their villages to the train station in Balaka during impressment. In the first decades people from Angónia were forced to walk to their labour destinations. An elder interviewed claimed that his grandfather had walked to South Africa and Rhodesia (Elder in Central Angónia, *Interview*). This necessity ended with the expansion of railway connections in the 1920s and 1930s. When people migrated on their own they would cover their own transport costs. If working in the sugar mills, recruiters would pay for transport costs (Franky, *Interview*). Local administrations delegated to chiefs and paramount chiefs, making them personally responsible for meeting given recruitment quotas and controlling clandestine migration. In 1909 it was estimated that a man in Angónia had to work for a whole month to pay his and his wife's *mussoco*. Alternatively he could make a round trip to Tete as bearer as long as the employer secured back load (Secretaria 1909).

Chiefs were coerced into cooperation at the cost of losing their position. This co-option of local authorities for the forced recruitment effort was indicative of the growing power of the colonial state in the periphery. At least two of the seven chieftaincies in Angónia were granted by the Portuguese to *cipaios* that were neither Chewa nor Ngoni, in recognition of their services in the pacification

campaign (CEA 1983, Blom 2002). Descendants of these chiefs in interviews conducted in the research sites with elders who were recruited for *chibalo* revealed that some remembered having been tied up and dragged into trucks the first few times they were recruited or having been forced by *Nyakhawas* to comply. The local *Nyakhawa* would be informed about how many men each village had to send and would proceed with their capture (Elders in Central Angónia, *Interview*). *Nyakhawas* were also in charge of collecting *mussoco*, following guidance from the local administration (Elder in North Angónia, *Interview*).

The labour code significantly increased the number of labourers recruited and the overall availability of low-cost forced labour. But it also resulted in forms of resistance such as avoidance, relocation and emigration to neighbouring colonies, absenteeism and desertion in the plantations, and instances of overt insurrection, such as the Bárue rebellion in 1917 which, paradoxically, was suppressed with the assistance of Ngoni mercenaries (Newitt 1995).

There is consensus that there existed a strong linkage between forced labour and clandestine labour migration to Rhodesia, the Transvaal and Nyasaland, but there is some disagreement as to the causal direction of this relationship. Newitt argues that widespread clandestine migration and the higher wages that workers could get in Rhodesia and particularly in the Rand mines meant that local employers would not have been able to compete in the open market and retain workers within Mozambique (1995, 501). In this interpretation, labour migration would have caused the *prolongation* of the forced labour regime in colonial Mozambique as the only way to secure a supply of labour for the emerging domestic economy.

Opposing this perspective, Tornimbeni claims that labour migration was in fact the reaction of the population to the abuses of forced labour conscription and taxation and evidence of the capacity of labourers to outwit the system (2000, 334-5). O’Laughlin takes this view further, proposing that both forced labour and resistance to it, in the form of migration to the British colonies, reinforced the commodification of livelihoods and a historically contingent process of

proletarianization that would take different forms in different regions of Mozambique but that as a whole would prove irreversible (2002).

Forced labour had aggregate social effects beyond those experienced by individual and households that fell to impressment. The coexistence of forced labour alongside free labour created conditions for the exploitation of the peasantry at different levels: “Forced labour functioned within free labour and commodity markets, depressing overall wages for manual labour and prices for peasant produce. Labour and agricultural commodity markets were also intertwined since rural men moved back and forth between wage-labour (forced or free) and cash-cropping (forced or free)” (O’Laughlin 2002, 518).

Labour migration brought about changes in the agricultural practices of households in Angónia, notably by introducing the need to hire in labour and use modern inputs to compensate for the labour lost due to the absence of migrants for critical parts of the agricultural year. Gendered roles in agriculture were put under strain. Migrants returned with new technical skills and altered consumption patterns (Arrighi 1970, CEA 1983). If wages were good, savings could be translated into investment. But migrants also died abroad or returned ill and unable to work. Angónia experienced a period of agricultural intensification. Access to ploughs, water pumps, cattle and fertilizer accelerated the commodification of reproduction. In this process households that managed to successfully combine male periodic migration and food and cash crop production on their land, accumulated and laid the foundations for expanded production. Households which were labour deficient or lacked access to a steady source of cash income progressively lost out (CEA 1983).

#### 4.3.3 Labour from Angónia and the sugar mills in the Lower Zambezi

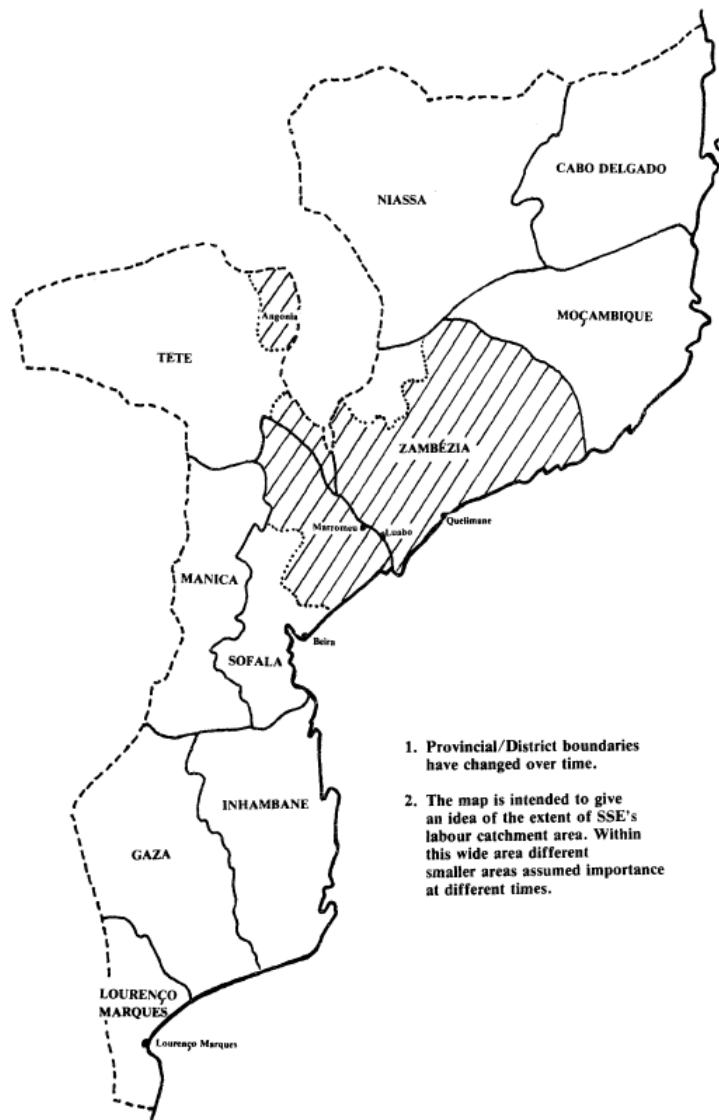
The Portuguese-owned *Mozambique Sugar Company* operated *prazos* around Mopeia, in the Lower Zambezi and was managed by John Peter Hornung, a British entrepreneur. In the period between 1884 and 1905, Hornung managed to gain control of the main sugar cane plantations in the lower Zambezi. Through contacts in London and Lisbon, Hornung leveraged funds to expand production, soon converting the sugar mills of the lower Zambezi into providers to the

burgeoning Rand mines, the Portuguese metropolitan market and the sugar exchange in Antwerp. In the initial stages, Hornung's strategy was predicated on controlling and renting out neighbouring *prazos* to secure labour at different stages of production. In 1906 Hornung set up the *Sena Sugar Estates* (SSE) with participation from London commodity brokers and financiers. The factory became Mozambique's largest. By 1910 Hornung & Co. had also bought Marromeu, the second largest sugar company. Output expanded rapidly and consequently more labour was required than the *prazos* controlled by the holding could provide.

It was in this context that in 1911 Hornung acquired the lease of what Vail and White describe as the 'supremely important *prazo* Angónia' and the relationship between Angónia and the sugar cane plantations of the lower Zambezi was thus consolidated (1980, 152). Workers recruited by SSE would work in the Lower Zambezi for 6 months or a year, during which they would receive food and accommodation. Wages would be paid at the end of the contract once the worker was back in Angónia. Payments were processed by the local recruiters who administered *Prazo* Angónia, ensuring that *mussoco* was deducted beforehand. With the control of legal recruitment in Angónia by SSE, a veritable struggle for labour between the plantations and the recruiters working for the RNLB, the Rhodesian Native Labour Board, WNLA, the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association - which operated a recruitment office in Angónia from 1909 to 1912 - and locals intent on migrating independently to avoid having to pay labour recruiters - gained momentum (Newitt 1995, Tornimbeni 2000). Only in Rhodesia, the percentage of migrant labourers ('extra-territorial') as part of the wage labour force in Rhodesia went from 50 per cent in 1904 to a staggering 68 per cent in 1922 (Arrighi 1970, 210).

In 1913 Rhodesia and Mozambique signed the Tete Agreement that granted Rhodesia an annual quota of 15,000 workers from Tete. The agreement made repatriation compulsory and introduced deferred pay. In this way the province would not be deprived of its main 'export' and the administration could deduct taxes directly (Neves 1991).

Map 4.3 Angónia and other recruitment areas for Sena Sugar Estates 1930-1960



(Source: Head, 1980)

Later that year the Union of South Africa banned labour recruitment north of the 22<sup>nd</sup> parallel, which roughly corresponded in Mozambique with the Save river, the symbolic limit of southern Mozambique. The move was presented as a way to prevent the high mortality of recruited labourers, but in practice worked to more systematically organize regional pockets of labour. If anything, the Tete agreement and the banning of WNLA recruitment in Tete seem to have further encouraged clandestine migration. Migrants were not willing to forgo higher earnings in the Transvaal (Coelho 1991, Tornimbeni 2000).

Chichewa-speakers from Angónia and Nyasaland were subject to different regulations and restrictions regarding passports, taxes and employment permits. Unlike Chewas from the British protectorate, Mozambican Chewas were subject to *chibalo*. The period gave way to the still common practice of having identity documents from the two countries to confound the authorities. One of the elders interviewed produced his Malawian employment record book from 1973. Posing as a Malawian he worked three times for the platinum mines of Rustenburg. (Elder 3 in Central Angónia, *Interview*). Conversely, colonial authorities and locals devised ways of exacting contributions from migrant workers crossing Tete on foot towards Rhodesia. Opportunistic conscription, mandatory health checks and muggings became common obstacles migrants had to negotiate on their way south. Local people would sell food on travel routes or charge migrants for ferrying across the Zambezi. This resulted in the activation of the border and the emergence of borderland rents described in Chapter II. The border also became a way to ‘enclose’ the labour force.

In 1920 the coal mines of Moatize started operating, providing a source of employment closer to Angónia. During the 1920s and 1930s the railway construction and the building of the bridge over the Zambezi at Caia also created labour demand. The sugar mills on the Zambezi and the mines in Moatize remained in function throughout the independence and until the onset of the civil war. Some of the survey respondent and their family members were still migrating there by the time the civil war started. Patterns of labour migration and the destinations that emerged in the colonial period remained active and meaningfully shaped the agrarian regime in Angónia well into the 1980s.

The labour regime was subject to some reforms in the period from the beginning of the First Portuguese Republic to the end of the First World War. These initiatives were designed to introduce longer periods of contracted labour and to stabilize the forced labour supply (Newitt 1995). However, already by the 1920s the sugar empire in the lower Zambezi had become dependent on the punctual mobilization of labour from Angónia. Resistance to forced labour through emigration and avoidance was no longer simply a nuisance to colonial accumulation but had become a menace to the sustainability of the industry’s global competitiveness. Hornung’s only option was to raise wages and offer six-

months and one-year contracts in order to secure the labour force. From the 1930s onward, workers from Angónia were paid a premium in the sugar mills that had been losing workers to Rhodesia. Elders interviewed said that after a first contract in Rhodesia many would try to persuade relatives to settle there permanently. Other recruiters in Angónia would offer volunteers some advance cash for workers to leave with their families before heading to contracts in the sugar mills or Vila Pery (Elder 3 in Central Angónia, *Interview*).

The transformative role of labour migration is a good example of the way agencies and structures interact in processes of agrarian change. Neither the state nor capitalists in the region set out to purposefully block the emergence of a fully proletarianized labour force, nor did they embark on a campaign of dispossession and enclosure. However, colonial accumulation was premised on the widespread use of low cost labour extracted from households that were forced to shoulder the costs of its reproduction (Vail and White 1980). Or, as Judith Head put it: 'The total wage needed to reproduce the individual labourer during the course of his life time and the labour force as a whole over generations, was therefore subsidised by the peasantry from which plantation labourers were drawn. This meant that capital could buy labour power below the cost of the total range of goods and services needed for its reproduction' (1980, 170). Even labour recruiters recognized that forced labour took healthy men from Angónia and returned ailing and weakened men. Of the 792 workers contracted by SSE in 1941, only 86 per cent came back at the end of the contract. Many had escaped at some point; 16 had died while working for the company and 31 had to remain in the plantation's hospital (Head 1980, 295). Over 85 per cent of those who did come back to Angónia were ill. With most of the people in Angónia preferring clandestine migration to the mines in the 1940s, legal recruiters were mobilizing older and weaker men. Before the construction of the railway connection to Sena and the introduction of the *uleres* (trucks sent from Rhodesia to pick up workers), people from Angónia walked to their labour destinations. It would take 10 days of walking to reach Sena, but the time walking to and from the plantations was not paid. There were no food stations or shelters along the way. Angonis became renowned for their 800-strong walking parties (Vail and White 1980). Most clandestine migration to Rhodesia and the



Transvaal in the first half of the century was on foot. Older interviewees in Angónia described their strategies for crossing rivers and avoiding thieves and predators:

‘There was no transport or recruiters to go to South Africa before. People would get organised in a group. They would kill a goat, clean the skin well and use it to carry mealy-meal. They would then set out. When they ran out of food they would look for *ganyu* on the way. There was a lot of money to be made in South Africa. I went to South Africa on a bus; other people took the train in Blantyre’ (Elder 3 in Central Angónia, Interview)

An official complained in 1945 that in Angónia:

‘one can cross huge areas and only see women and children [...]. The black from Angónia who wants to emigrate to the Transvaal stays in Southern Rhodesia for sufficient time to earn some money [...] and when he feels ready to undertake the journey to the Rand mines [...] he goes to the nearest station of the Transvaal railways and buys a train ticket to his destination.’ (Pires, *Relatório de Tete 1945*, quoted in Newitt, 1995).

A historical process of proletarianization was the final outcome of taxation and labour migration; of the ways in which people resisted and avoided the system; of livelihoods that, deprived of the labour contribution of males, had to reorganize production. Processes of monetization and commodification advanced throughout Mozambique but particularly in labour reserves like Angónia (Head 1980, Tornimbeni 2000, O’Laughlin2002).

Table 4.4 Tax-payers and forced labour in Tete, 1948

<i>Population</i>		<i>Tax-payers</i>		<i>Recruited (chibalo)</i>	
		<i>number</i>	<i>% of population</i>	<i>number</i>	<i>% of tax payers</i>
Angónia	65,681	14,000	21.3%	3,500	25%
Total Tete	372,001	64,535	17.3%	12,342	19.1%

(Source: Coelho 1993)

#### 4.3.4 The *Estado Novo* and peak mobilization

The *Estado Novo* and the great depression of the 1930s had considerable repercussions for the colonial regime. Salazar's corporatist nationalism resulted in the expansion of the colonial administration. In some parts of Mozambique this would be the first encounter local people had with the colonial bureaucracy - apart from taxation or forced labour recruitment.

A new indigenous labour regulation, *Regulamento do Trabalho dos Indigenas na Colonia de Moçambique*, abolished the *prazo* system in 1930. *Prazeiros* and corporations were finally replaced with colonial officials in 1940, when direct colonial administration was introduced in Angónia. Additionally, the 'moral obligation to work' was expanded to include forced crop agriculture. This new labour regulation was designed to channel the labour force in such a way as to meet the needs of domestic (if foreign-owned) industry. It also standardized the working day, introduced labour contracts for voluntary and forced labourers, extended the duration of contracts and included stipulations on health and wages (Head 1980, Neves 1998). But the fundamental characteristics of the labour system, whereby work and taxes were compulsory and the state forced households to subsidize labour costs for investors and entrepreneurs, remained in place.

Under the *Estado Novo* poll tax rates were increased, forcing people to work longer contracts in order to be able to pay taxes and sustain their households. As households progressively resorted to remittances from migrant labour, coercive recruitment mechanisms became less necessary: market dependence was already creating compulsion to find wage employment. Furthermore, the depression of the 1930s saw the collapse of global demand for the commodities produced in the region. Rhodesian mines closed down and sugar plantations in Mozambique were forced to downsize. That a fully voluntary contingent for SSE was recruited in Angónia in 1931 was testament to the integration of Angónia into the market. Forced labour was no longer *only* a political compulsion; the wages thus acquired had become *predominantly* a reproductive imperative (Vail and White 1980). A similar trend occurred in the Rhodesian labour market (Arrighi 1970).

The word used by the respondents of the survey to refer to for ‘voluntary’ workers, and implicitly for clandestine migrants too, is *serufu*, probably a chichewanized adaptation of *self*-contracted. *Serufu* migrants would travel to their destinations by their own means and would have some latitude to contract with a preferred employer. On the contrary, contracted labour (for Mozambique or Rhodesia) would receive some advance-cash and it would be up to the recruiter to determine their destination. Those going as volunteers to work for SEE would get a bonus. An elder interviewed was bound and dragged to do *chibalo* the two first times and went on to migrate 5 times as *serufu*, including twice to South Africa where he stayed three years in total (Elder 2 in Central Angónia, *Interview*). An elder from North Angónia complained that he had worked hard in *chibalo*, but never managed to save or invest ‘I wish I was younger now, people still work hard but now some make good money’ (Elder 1 in North Angónia, *Interview*).

#### *The labour aristocracy controversy*

In the sugar plantations workers from different origins were housed separately and assigned to different tasks. People coming from Angónia were distinct: they came from farther afield and had no local links. In Marromeu, people from Angónia had considerably higher wages than workers recruited in Zambézia and Sofala. Estate managers explained that people from Angónia were capable of completing similar tasks in shorter periods and producing twice or three times as much as other workers: the Angurus and the Masena. Workers from Angónia would earn over twice as much as workers recruited in *prazos* neighbouring sugar estates (see table 4.8). The different treatment extended to the mode and type of payments. People from Angónia were paid in sterling, not in escudos; had 12-month extendable contracts; and from 1937 onwards, workers from Angónia were allowed to migrate with their family. Furthermore, many of the foremen – the despised *capitães* - were from Angónia.

Historians have invariably interpreted this as an indication that people from Angónia constituted some sort of labour aristocracy in the plantations. The ‘labour aristocracy’ thesis is periodically reproduced in the literature (Vail and White 1980, Head 1980, Blom 2002). However, explaining higher wages as a

reward for productivity appeals to essentializing arguments about biophysical traits and ignores the structural nature of labour relations. Vail and White go further in positing a culturalist explanation. In their view, people from Angónia had a strong ‘Ngoni ethnic self-consciousness’, a tendency towards ‘cultural conservatism’ and a strongly hierarchical political organization. In this explanation, ‘Ngonis’ worked hard to obey their paramount chief who coordinated recruitment; they were willing migrants because Angónia was densely populated and arable land was scarce. Also they went to work for wages to save money for *lobolo* (the bride wealth) (1980, 357-8). Vail and White also propose a supposed Ngoni propensity for collaborationism, citing the Angoni *capitães* and mercenaries used to repeal the Bárue rebellion (1980). They also substantiate their claim by noting that, according to their understanding, the lyrics of work songs of Angoni recruits were devoid of dissent and resistance to their condition and status as forced labourers, in stark contrast to the songs of the Masena and Anguru (1980, 355-9).

Table 4.5 Wage differentials in Sena Sugar Estates in 1931

<i>Labour origin</i>	<i>Monthly pay for 26 of work</i>	<i>Currency Used</i>
Angónia (men from Prazo Angónia)	10 shillings	British Sterling
Nyassas (Malawians)	10 shillings	British Sterling
Anguru contract Labour (men from Zambézia that were not from <i>prazos</i> )	5 shillings 5 pence	Portuguese Escudos
Charre labour (Labour from <i>Prazo</i> Mutarara)	8 shillings 8 pence	Portuguese Silver
Labour from local <i>prazos</i> administered by the estate	3 shillings 5 pence	Portuguese Silver
Anguru Volunteers (6 months)*	10 shillings	British Sterling
Anguru Volunteers (12 months)*	12 shillings	British Sterling

(Source: Head, 1980)

This explanation is unconvincing, however, for three main reasons. First, the migrants from Angónia were not Ngoni. Calling them Ngoni or Angoni was a Portuguese shorthand to denominate people coming from the Angónia highland. But ethnic identities linked to this toponym were – and remain - far more

ambiguous and fluid. Second, land was not scarce in Angónia, at least not to the extent that it would motivate emigration. Finally, workers from Angónia were paid in sterling because this was currency used in Angónia. Even *mussoco* was paid in sterling in this *prazo*. Even today the Malawian Kwacha remains the commonly used currency in parts of modern-day Angónia. Further, *lobolo* payments are not frequent in Angóni where uxorilocality prevails.

Some nuance must therefore be introduced to this discussion. To begin with, the differential wage regime was only introduced after 1930, when SEE lost *prazo* Angónia and for the first time had to compete with the higher wages of Rhodesia to attract a labour force. Angónia was strategic for the plantations of the lower Zambezi, not only because of its dense population but because Angónia was distant enough to dissuade recruits to desert midway through the contract, a problem they faced with recruits from Zambézia. SSE also enjoyed a full recruitment monopoly in Angónia until the end of *chibalo* but faced the challenge of corralling a highly mobile labour force and expert evaders.

But more importantly, the agrarian context from which these labourers were drawn has not been sufficiently taken account of. Local sources of cash and employment in Angónia were practically non-existent before the 1940s, in contrast with Zambézia where farmers owned copra plantations from which they could profit. Whereas each day spent in *chibalo* in the sugar plantations represented a loss for the farmers of Zambézia, forced labour became the income generation activity *par excellence* for the people of Angónia. It is likely that people from Angónia were far more dependent on their wages, despite being similarly coerced than people from the Lower Zambezi. Absenteeism from daily tasks -a way in which Masena and Anguru would resist forced labour- would have been too costly for the people of Angónia. Even forced cotton cropping, considered a last resource strategy for avoiding forced labour recruitment in northern Mozambique, was denied to people from Angónia because it does not grow there. The position of the long distance labour migrant can only be understood in relation to the opportunities available to households in the regions of origin. Different agrarian regimes gave migrant labourers different sets of incentives and placed them in different configurations vis-à-vis capital. This does not seem to have been explored in depth in the existing literature as yet.

### *New destinations, new employers*

According to the 1947 census, of the 12,962 abled-bodied men in Angónia, an estimated 7,000 had migrated that year to the British colonies and only 2,703 were in labour contracts in Mozambique. At the time, the total population of Angónia was 108,646 (Blom 2002). According to the Rhodesian government some 69,000 people from Tete alone were living there in the 1940s. In the following years the forced labour system would greatly improve its capacity to recruit workers. In the late 1940s, with the influx of Portuguese farmer-settlers to Angónia and the emergence of a textile and food industry in central Mozambique, new sources of employment appeared. Manica's expanding agriculture and industry attracted workers from Angónia.

In the aftermath of the Second World War the Portuguese administration began promoting the African colonies as a destination for Portuguese migrants and offering credit, land and assistance for those willing to settle and work (Neves 1993). Different regions of Mozambique developed such settlements, invariably expanded on the basis of expropriation: the Portuguese settlers became important maize producers in Manica, tea growers in Zambézia and tobacco farmers in Nampula. Angónia attracted about a hundred such settlers. Some opened large estates that introduced mechanised commercial agriculture and created local sources of employment. The majority set up a network of borderland shops and grinding mills. They received financial support to help contain the flow of indigenous agricultural produce flowing towards Malawi (Correia Matos 1966). Settler colonization was a strategy designed to harden the border and to spatially corral agricultural production within Mozambique. As a result the border became a more salient social feature of the highlands, a space akin to the tidal frontier proposed by Korf and Raeymaekers (2013), but the process also contributed trans-boundary integration.

The presence of the Portuguese shopkeepers greatly animated the local economy, opening a market for agricultural production and offering commodities such as salt, soap, clothes and cloth to the emerging pool of local consumers. In different parts of Angónia and on the Malawian side of the border the Portuguese traders are still remembered for providing an outlet for surplus production of beans,

maize and potatoes that gave some access to cash in an increasingly monetized economy. Portuguese farmers introduced new seed varieties and fertilizer, which progressively spread through Angónia.

There were many Portuguese traders settled around North Angónia, but none near Central and South Angónia. Because of this, people from the agricultural frontier would walk long distances, carrying their goods on their heads, to sell to the closest trader in the town of Chia, in order to obtain cash for buying clothing and tools (Nyakwawa in Central Angónia, *Interview*). Sales were not always fully 'voluntary': an old Portuguese settler, still living in Angónia described how the Portuguese shop-owners positioned along the border conducted raids early in the morning to prevent Mozambican farmers from crossing the border and selling their agricultural produce in Malawi. Once the offenders were found out, they were taken to the Portuguese-owned shops and their produce was *purchased* (Interview in Vila Ulongue). Other sources emphasise that the emergence of this trading petit bourgeoisie was based on exploitative prices offered to producers with few alternative markets and very high prices charged for the merchandise imported to Angónia. Portuguese farmers are remembered at times as large employers of labour but also for the dispossession of village land that preceded the formation of their estates (CEA 1983; Land surveyor, *Interview*).

By 1951 the number of workers recruited had increased to 5,129 (Coelho 1993). By then it was reported that the forced labour system had reached its upper limit: all other able-bodied men in Angónia were away working legally or as clandestine labourers in British colonies, or were in Angónia during their year between contracts (and could not be recruited). By the end of the 1950s, it was estimated that every year some 9,000 people headed to the British colonies as clandestine workers from Angónia alone. The Angónia District Commissioner complained in 1952 that there were fewer than 300 able-bodied men left in the whole district, when subtracting those that had been recruited in the preceding years who were obliged to take a year off (Coelho 1993, 135). A rough estimation with data available in the secondary literature indicates that around 70 per cent of the economically active male population was away in 1952, confirming the picture of extreme labour mobility in Angónia.

Table 4.6 Angónia, location of able-bodied men registered in 1952

Absentees (Clandestine in SA and Rhodesia)	7,000
Recruited in 1951 in Mozambique	5,129
Recruited in 1952 in Mozambique	4,965
Recruited for work in Angónia	180
Total	17,274

(Source: Coelho 1993)

Table 4.7 Destination of recruited forced labour from Angónia, 1952

Private employers		
Timber works, Inhaminga	Sofala	281
Trans-Zambézia Railways	Sofala	148
Sena Sugar Estates, Marromeu	Sofala	473
Tile factory	Sofala	30
Oil transport to Rhodesia	Manica	167
Cotton estate	Manica	686
Mozambique Company	Manica	25
Coal Mines of Moatize	Tete	294
Timber works, Caia	Sofala	44
Agricultural traders	Manica	10
Public employers		
Beira Railways	Sofala	915
Public works	Tete	361
Angónia Veterinary Station	Tete	145
Angónia Public Administration	Tete	150
Contracted in Southern Rhodesia	Southern Rhodesia	1,236
Total		4,965
As percentage of total economically active population		

(Source: Coelho 1993)

During the 1960s some structural changes to the labour migration system began to take place. Under pressure from the international community and because market dependence was considerably advanced, the colonial state abolished *chibalo* in 1962. New sugar estates were established. Mafambisse, close to Beira,



also mobilized labour from Angónia. But the 1960s were also the beginning of the liberation struggle, the consequences of which will be addressed in the following chapter.

#### **4.4. Conclusion**

This chapter has recounted the intensive mobilization of migrant labour out of Angónia and explored ways in which it induced changes in the organization of production. On the one hand, peasant households were deprived of part of their labour power during critical periods of the year and, on the other, the introduction of remittances heralded the monetization of productive relations and the increasing dependence of peasant households on markets.

From these interactions with markets for labour, inputs, commodities and produce emerged a peasantry that no longer derived its subsistence predominantly from own account agriculture. At the height of the forced labour regime in the 1950s, men from Angónia were no longer migrant peasants, they were increasingly semi-proletarians. However, on the whole, the process was highly exploitative as well as uneven: “Restrictions on the scale of private holdings blocked the development of an African commercial farming class that would compete with plantations, settler farms and mines for labour, while access to land in the reserves prevented the development of a landless proletariat” (O’Laughlin 2000, 15). The process was not uniform because some households integrated more successfully to the market, while others remained marginalized or became chronically dependent on sporadic jobs paying meagre wages. Another effect of the expansion of migrant wage-employment was the increasing use of *ganyu*, casual wage labour, in the agricultural production of households in Angónia. This seems to have been accompanied with a shift from solidarity and kinship as the main channels of mobilization of additional labour, to hiring labourers paid in cash, as documented by Englund in a study of the border town of Dedza (1999). Unlike Englund, the STFA survey found no evidence *ganyu* recruitment being used as a way of consolidating relations with affines. Quite on the contrary, many respondents expressed their reluctance to hire casual workers within the pool of relatives.

Precipitating these changes was the expansion of colonial accumulation that at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century required the formation of an African labour force. Angónia was one of the few large population pockets isolated from agricultural markets in Mozambique. But transforming the peasantry of Angónia into a labour contingent was problematic because Angónia was a hinterland, distant from the ports and beyond the control of the colonial administration. Given its location, no investment could be secured; nothing produced in Angónia could have been exported at the time. Furthermore, land was abundant and fertile so there was no incentive for the peasantry to leave agriculture for waged work.

It was a political process that would forcibly insert the people of Angónia into the labour market. This first involved military occupation and ‘pacification’, then the creation of statutory and customary authorities tasked with extending the coercive character of the state into the periphery, and lastly the draconian implementation of poll-taxes and a forced labour regime. The colonial state was successful in compelling the peasantry of Angónia to subsidize capital accumulation through the provision of labour power below its costs of reproduction. The people of Angónia resisted this violent imposition - in many cases successfully - by hiding, relocating to Nyasaland or migrating to work in the British colonies where wages were far higher. But even these forms of resistance reinforced the transformation that forced labour provoked: increasing market dependence (O’Laughlin 2002).

Thus, by the 1930s market integration was so advanced that labour migration was a necessity for the reproduction of households, although forced labour legislation was still in place. Political coercion had given way to economic compulsion. Forced labour, then, was used to secure cheap labour for domestic capital and to stabilize the labour supply by preventing shortages and disruption. A remarkable transmutation had been effected. While in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, taking up wage labour had been the means by which peasants secured access to cash in order to pay taxes, by the 1930s it was the other way around: taxes helped fix the people from Angónia into longer work contracts. Throughout the period tax rates and wages were fine-tuned, engineered, to uphold the compulsion: ‘it was not that wages were low, it was that the state *made* them low’ (Head 1980, 361). But taxes had this effect in Angónia because there were not

many cash-earning alternatives through the intensification and commercialization of peasant agriculture, an avenue open to people in Manica, Rhodesia, Zambézia, and elsewhere.

As will be discussed in the following chapters, some features of the colonial labour relations have been interiorized and are recycled in the present. There is remarkable similarity between the patterns of incorporation of migrant workers from Angónia during the colonial period and that of workers migrating to contemporary Angónia. Furthermore, the way in which men from Angónia were introduced into the labour market bears comparison with women's labour mobilization during the civil war.

## **Chapter V: Independence and Civil War**

Vila Ulongue, the capital of Angónia, is a small replica of Portuguese colonial cities: a paved and broad road with shops, markets, large colonial houses and the administrative and party headquarters. Flowing into the main road, dirt tracks connect to the neighbourhoods that spread messily in every direction. Right in the centre of the town stands a massive warehouse. The story of the warehouse encapsulates the story of the district: built by the Portuguese, it was the headquarters of the ICM (Mozambican Institute for Cereals) – the colonial marketing board and monopoly purchaser of cereals (Bowen 2000); after independence it was occupied by AGRICOM, the state-managed cereal bulk exchange of the socialist era; after the civil-war it was transferred to the private sector and it is today the headquarters and commercial floor of Mozambique Leaf Tobacco, the main agricultural trader during liberalization.

The changing experience of the warehouse is not dissimilar to that of the tobacco producers that are at the centre of this research. Like the warehouse, their lives have been cast against the background of the colonial labour regime, the transformation of independence and then war and now the era of tobacco. The present chapter reconstructs the lives of the respondents of the survey of tobacco producers after the end of the colonial regime, through independence and war. Some themes are developed in this chapter, which will bear important implications that later chapters will address. Observations stemming from the survey of tobacco farmers support the core arguments. First, that the process of proletarianization and agricultural intensification, described in Chapter IV, shaped the impact of the socialist project and the war in Angónia. Second, that contrary to the depiction of the humanitarian literature, there is sufficient evidence to propose that the majority of the Mozambican refugee population in Malawi engaged in, or depended indirectly on, wage employment. More than 67 per cent of the male respondents in the survey of tobacco producers engaged in wage-employment during the Malawian exile; the totality of the men in this survey aged 20-30 during the exile in Malawi worked for wages in Malawi; and

57 per cent of the respondents that were too young to work during the war lived in households that depended on wage employment.

The argument here is that first the socialist project and later the civil war caused the dissolution of commercial networks and the violent disruption of production and trade, indirectly pressing the commodity producers of post-independence Angónia to go back to subsistence agriculture. However, subsistence agriculture was simply not viable anymore for these groups of producers. It is argued here that it was this assault on production and livelihoods that motivated the unprecedented exodus of farmers from Angónia to Malawi.

Of course the violence of war was the immediate trigger of the humanitarian emergency. But bearing in mind the widespread opposition that the socialist project had provoked by the early 1980s and the prevailing productive crisis, the role of violence is put into context. This chapter argues that it is impossible to account effectively for the mechanisms that led to more refugees being expelled from Angónia than from any other district in Mozambique without examining the history of the agrarian structure of this region. Angónia had been constructed historically as an isolated hinterland labour reserve and the reproduction of smallholder farmers had become dependent on very intense interactions with labour and commodity markets. By severing these networks, the war dissolved the very fabric of social reproduction. Massive displacement to Malawi indicates unambiguously that producers were no longer subsistence farmers. This is further evidenced by the fact that once in Malawi people from Angónia participated massively in wage employment. The drivers of displacement coupled with wartime labour migration speak volumes about the limitations of reproducing livelihoods based solely on own-account agriculture and show how rapidly a wartime landless population can become fully proletarianized.

The chapter is chronologically divided in three periods. It opens with the post-independence period politically shaped by the social and economic dictums of the Third Frelimo Congress as well as by the emergence of the Renamo insurgency. It then discusses a second phase in which the violence of the war becomes fully installed in the district. The chapter closes with a detailed discussion of the experiences of the respondents as refugees in Malawi.

Empirically, the chapter attempts to explain the hitherto largely ignored prevalence of migratory wage labour among Mozambican refugees in Malawi observed in the life stories of tobacco producers in the survey. But rather than simply documenting it, this hidden labour story calls for a profound rethinking of the role of war in the reconfiguration of the agrarian structure described in Chapter IV, a structure shaped by a long history of labour migration and where commodification and social differentiation had set in motion a process of change in the organization of production that was irreversible.

### **5.1. Frelimo's political traction in Angónia during the liberation campaign**

The liberation struggle laid the foundations of what would become a very ambiguous relation between different groups in Angónia and Frelimo, first as a nationalist armed project and then as the party in power. The struggle for independence from Portugal revealed many paradoxes that informed the region's relation with Frelimo, with the colonial troops, and later on with Renamo. However, the violence of the process is eclipsed in the recollections of the interviewees by the greater disruption and trauma that was to come during the civil war. This section looks briefly back to Frelimo's liberation campaign, as it was experienced in Angónia, to explain the precursors of ideological and political tension during the war as well as to zoom in on the process of villagization (*aldeamentos*) that started as a colonial counter-insurgency strategy, but had longer lasting effects as a policy of space management implemented by the post-independence state.

No nationalist grouping emerged in colonial Angónia, although judging by the testimonials emerging from ethnographic work conducted in the region over the past two decades, disgruntlement with the colonial administration seems to have been widespread in relation to taxes, forced labour and physical violence. It was during spells of migratory labour to the British colonies that workers from Angónia were first exposed to nationalist ideologies. Migrant workers became cadres with different nationalist groupings in Rhodesia and engaged in some grass-roots political mobilization at the time of their return to Angónia. In the

early 1960s a nationalist party, the National Union for the Independence of Mozambique (UNAMI), emerged in Malawi, drawing support mainly from Tete Province (Hall and Young 1997).

Frelimo had hoped to use Malawi and Zambia as launching pads for the Tete campaign, as had been the case of Tanzania in Cabo Delgado, but in Hastings Kamuzu Banda's regime Frelimo met unshakable opposition until 1971. Independent Malawi aligned politically with Rhodesia and South Africa and was suspected of harbouring the hope that by remaining on good terms with the Portuguese their expansionist project of the 'greater Malawi' could ultimately be advanced (Newitt 1995, Hall and Young 1997). After some attacks along the border by Frelimo in 1964, Malawi and the Portuguese closed ranks. Frelimo would come to liberate large stretches of Western and Central Tete, but advances within Angónia were localized and the colonial military grip on Angónia was never relaxed. The main towns and villages on the south-north transport axis in the district remained firmly under Portuguese control until independence.

The colonial army was invested in defending its position in Angónia, which had a sizeable population of Portuguese traders and settlers. Moreover, the colonial regime had important groups of supporters among the local population, as Blom observes (2002). The colonial administration had validated the rule of the Maseko Ngoni and had been behind the creation of new chieftaincies that had been allocated to *sipaios* loyal to the Portuguese. With few exceptions, Ngoni authorities sided with the Portuguese. Socio-economic differentiation and accumulation in the process of progressive commercialization had created a group of wealthier farmers and *assimilado* officials with connections to the Portuguese population who were unimpressed by the nationalist, let alone socialist ideology of Frelimo (Bloom 2002, CEA 1983b). However, according to interviews conducted with customary authorities, the Mfumo during the 1960s, Marcos Dama, came to reject the forced recruitment of *chibalo* workers for which the paramount chief was ultimately responsible and rebelled. Dama was exiled by the Portuguese and sent to Beira where he died. According to some versions he was murdered by PIDE, the secret police; but according to others he died in an accident. This same version was documented by Blom (2002).

In most of Angónia the Portuguese settlers and traders had been instrumental to the expansion of the commercialization of agricultural crops and the provision of productive inputs and consumer goods. If the terms of exchange and the prices were exploitative, this did not register in the collective appraisal of the liberation struggle as clearly as the massive discontent that came after independence when the Portuguese left and commercial networks dried up (CEA 1983b, Coelho 1998, Englund 1996, 2002). Furthermore, locals amounted to upwards of 40 per cent of the Colonial troops in Mozambique. Forced conscription was widespread, but the pay was good and stable (Juergensen 1996). These fragmented constituencies, sometimes deliberately, sometimes inadvertently retarded or complicated the support for Frelimo. In the long run, Angónia did not obtain good credentials with Frelimo, unlike other regions in northern Tete. As a consequence of this, for instance, the fieldwork for this study did not find a single recipient of the pensions that former combatants (*antigos combatentes*) are entitled to and which are an important source of income in other regions of Mozambique.

However, the fierce repression of people suspected of collaborating with the rebels did much to create disapproval of the Portuguese troops and of the secret security service, if not necessarily to gain support for Frelimo. In an attempt to separate Frelimo from sources of food and support, thousands of people in Angónia were forcibly relocated to militarised villages, alienating the population of Angónia (Coelho 1998). According to interviews with older villagers, forced villagization was greatly inconvenient. People would still farm their plots, but were not allowed to spend the night outside the village. The period was also characterised by a first wave of dislocation to Malawi when violence, looting and burning of villages intensified in Angónia.



## 5.2. Independent Mozambique and Frelimo in power

‘They thought Frelimo had already forgotten they existed. They had never received basic supplies or even seen a Frelimo soldier since 1975.’

– A commentator on communal villagers in 1978 in Tete  
(Coelho 1998)

In 1974 the Portuguese revolution accelerated the end of Colonial rule and independence was declared in 1975. According to Juergensen (1996), the promise of abolishing colonial taxes and putting an end to physical punishment were the two main reasons for the rural population’s initial approval of the liberation struggle in Angónia. Here as elsewhere it is important to bear in mind the patchy nature of the evidence available on which to substantiate any appraisal of how the rural population of Angónia reacted to the changes they were experiencing. What eluded most analysts was the variety of social groups and sub-regions in the Angónia Highlands and the ensuing multiplicity of contrasting and opposing interests and impacts generated by the transition.

Blom, who conducted interviews in the central and western parts of the district, was more aware of the sub-regional variations. Englund who conducted 13 months of field work in a borderland village had an awareness of social differentiation but only insofar as it was observable among his respondents and did not make much of socio-economic dynamics. On the whole, research on Angónia since the end of the civil war has ruled out social differentiation and the historical tendencies of proletarianization and commodification as important elements to understand the contemporary agrarian structure in Angónia (Juergensen 1996, Blom 2002, Englund 2002).

In order to understand the impact of the transition it is worth remembering that the direct presence of the Colonial state had been sporadic and uneven in Angónia. This same point, that state presence was weak in most of Mozambique, is stressed by O’Laughlin (1996) and Dinerman (2007) to contest a tendency in the literature to exaggerate the pretended collision of interests between the state and the ‘peasantry’. Of course forced labour and taxation had been central to the

making of Angónia as a borderland labour reserve, but taxation, land management and labour recruitment had been mediated by the local authority structures. For the most part production and politics in the district revolved around these local institutions. To recapitulate from Chapter IV, the local authority structure had at its centre the Ngoni chieftaincies that the Portuguese had validated and those they created in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century; below these was a dense network of *Chwagas* and *Nyakwawas*. As will be described in this section, the presence of the incipient Frelimo state was also intermittent. Its main immediate outward manifestation was the dissolution of customary authority and its replacement in the villages by party secretaries.

Given the timid manifestation of the state in this periphery, it could have been predicted that there were limited grounds for a thorough transformation of social structures in the post-colonial transition. However, and in spite of this, independence brought about changes that directly and indirectly shook the political and economic structures of the Angónia highland: the departure of most of the Portuguese settlers and traders, the incorporation of the land they left behind into CAIA, a state-run agro-industrial complex, and the collectivization of production and enterprise imposed by the new regime.

The introduction of these changes would have been challenging in any context, but post-independence circumstances made the transition increasingly traumatic. By the early 1980s, just before Renamo's first actions in this part of Mozambique, discontent and economic crisis characterised the predominant mood. Juergensen claims that in Angónia Frelimo had dramatically lost popular support well before Renamo made a first appearance (1996).

### 5.3.1. The Third Frelimo Congress and crisis

In the aftermath of independence, Frelimo's Third Congress, held in February 1977, laid down the main tenets of the economic and political transformation that the party proposed to implement in newly independent Mozambique. It was during the Third congress that Frelimo formalized its Marxist-Leninist leanings and proposed a socialist transition consisting of a complete overhaul of the relations of production to supersede colonial exploitation. Politically, the project

would be sustained by a class alliance between workers and peasants and economically it rested on an ambitious strategy to introduce scientific methods of planning and production in order to increase agricultural output and fund an industrial transition. The socialization of the means of production and the adoption of communal farming would underpin the emergence of a free labour force (Hanlon 1991, Newitt 1995, O’Laughlin 1996, 2000, Hall and Young 1997).

To effect this transformation Mozambique had to make a veritable leap forward in terms of output and productivity and it was deemed that only the accelerated modernization of agriculture could provide the surplus necessary to fund the socialist transition. This entailed the adoption of mechanized farming and a marked emphasis on large-scale agro-industrial production. A large network of state-run agro-industrial complexes nationalized land that had been occupied by the colonial state, private enterprises and Portuguese settlers. The emphasis on developing industrial agriculture demanded a considerable financial effort that diverted funds from the provision of inputs and the functioning of markets on which family cash-cropping depended. This was justifiable in the eyes of policy makers because it was expected that employment in the agro-industrial sector would provide rural households with better living conditions and because while this labour transfer took effect farming households could easily retreat to subsistence agriculture (Wuyts 1985, O’Laughlin 1996, Coelho 1998). In Angónia this strategy took the form of a large state-owned agro-industrial complex – CAIA - on 80,000 ha left behind by the Portuguese or appropriated by the independent state. At its height, CAIA employed 4,000 workers. For those not linked to CAIA the option – sometimes imposed - was communal farming and farming cooperatives (CEA 1983a, Coelho 1998). The CAIA experiment in Angónia played a central role in testing the viability of the strategy of socialization of the countryside at the national level. Incidentally, Angónia also had an important role in the turn, evident in the 4th Congress of 1983, away from a state-led industrial agriculture strategy. Observations made about large agro-industrial complexes by CEA and other researchers in agro-industrial complexes like Angónia informed a debate within Frelimo about the

viability of the continuation of this strategy (O’Laughlin 1996, Dinerman 2007, Littlejohn, personal communication).

Frelimo’s broader strategy combined political aspects such as the democratization of local power; the extension of public goods and services in rural areas and the collectivization of production. However, problems surfaced early on. These were a combination of a series of elements: the overly ambitious production goals set by Frelimo, the poor productive performance of the first years and the beginning of Renamo’s sabotage campaign in central Mozambique. By 1977 the Rhodesian regime had started forming and training Renamo and although Renamo did not arrive in full to Angónia until late 1982, its campaign in neighbouring provinces contributed to the deterioration of transport linkages, and the provision of services and supplies (Vines 1996). In the case of Angónia, it has been powerfully argued by the CEA reports (1983a, 1983b) and later work, most prominently by O’Laughlin (1996, 2002), that the source of the crisis was the mismatch between the existing agrarian structure and Frelimo’s strategy. In reality the reproduction of agricultural producers had long been predicated on their linkages to labour and commodity markets, but similarly, large-scale agriculture depended on the mobilization of those same producers as workers. The working conditions and the wages paid in CAIA were insufficient to wholly reproduce the workers’ households. In a paradoxical case of history repeating itself, also in the socialist era, the employer relied on households to complement the costs of reproducing the labour force.

By assuming that peasant production was self-sufficient and that the labour reserve was so vast that workers could be mobilized regardless of the limitations imposed by family farming, Frelimo dismissed the function of household agriculture within the reproduction of capital. The success of such a strategy would have depended on the mobilization of a fully proletarianized labour force that Frelimo was unable or unwilling to create. Conversely the winding down market networks threatened to push households back into subsistence. However, subsistence agriculture – as argued in Chapter IV - was no longer viable in Angónia. Family farming had become dependent on purchased inputs and consumer goods. The core argument of this chapter is that the extremely elevated rate of displacement to Malawi during the civil war that was to come

had as much to do with the misdiagnoses of agricultural policy, which cornered the rural producers of Angónia into an unsustainable position, as with the actual violence of war.

The following sections will discuss the way the crisis unfolded in Angónia. Both the trajectory of the agro-industrial complex and that of the ‘family sector’ epitomise also the considerable mismatch between expectations and performance in Frelimo’s economic strategy after independence, complicated by the turn in the geopolitics of Southern Africa, with the turmoil of the collapse of Rhodesia and the positioning of South Africa vis-à-vis Mozambique. Importantly, Mozambique’s fiscal situation deteriorated among other reasons because of the exodus of Portuguese producers that contributed importantly to exports, forgone railway fees lost to the international trade sanctions imposed on Rhodesia and South Africa and especially the dramatic reduction in the number of migrant labourers recruited there, which deprived many Mozambicans – certainly many Angónians - of their livelihoods as well as depriving the state of a source of tax revenue and remittances (Hall and Young, 1997).

### 5.3.2. Villagization and overthrowing chieftaincy

With the aim of centralizing the provision of water and sanitation, education and health services Frelimo appealed to transform colonial *aldeamentos* into communal villages. Hall and Young estimate that roughly 1 in every 8 Mozambicans had been confined in *aldeamentos* to isolate Frelimo and to create free-fire zones (1997, also Coelho 1998, O’Laughlin 2000). The original plan was to centralize service provision around these villages but also to reorganize family agriculture into collective farming. Land was cleared for plots worked by peasant cooperatives and people were compelled to pool their cattle. Angónia had 18 *aldeamentos* in 1974, to which 5 new communal villages were added before 1982. Most of the respondents of the survey from South and Central Angónia had been moved to the Chimwala *aldeamento*, whereas respondents from North Angónia remained in their village which was relatively large for Angónia standards. All three zones had communal villages and farming cooperatives (CEA 1983b, Coelho 1998). After 1983, when Renamo advanced

onto Angónia, Frelimo's imposition of villagization became increasingly couched as a counterinsurgency strategy, to isolate Renamo and control movements in what progressively became a territory at war.

Similarly, the original spirit of reforming local political structures was the creation of democratic practices at the village level, with popular assemblies and elected leadership replacing hereditary customary authorities. The implementation of this arrangement was, however, riddled with problems in the different parts of the district that have been studied. The dismissal of chiefs and the imposition of party secretaries in many cases spurred local conflicts, but in the villages studied by Blom (2002), Englund (2002), CEA (1983b) and in this research, the secretaries were invariably members of the same extended lineages as the chiefs; the chiefs themselves were at times members of Frelimo's *grupos dinamizadores* - assemblies tasked with replacing the customary authorities at the local level and conformed by party secretaries and chairmen (O'Laughlin 2000) - and people close to the catholic church had positions in the new local political structures. This is unsurprising: Frelimo's grass-roots work in Angónia had been very limited and, to begin with, villages in Angónia typically consisted of one or two lineages. This was the case of South and Central Angónia and to a lesser extent North Angónia, which is a larger settlement. No young cadres had been formed and no party members commanded authority or were seen as legitimate replacement for the Chiefs.

This continuation contradicts the idea of the socialist project thoroughly shaking the cultural foundations of community life in rural Mozambique. In Angónia it has been observed (*pace* Juergensen) that the rupture was not as definite and that it was not at the centre of the growing disenchantment with Frelimo. The most widely debated question in the Mozambican historiography of the war revolves around Renamo's social basis in rural Mozambique and the reasons for popular support. The debate pitted researchers supporting the thesis proposed in Christian Geffray's wartime ethnography in Erati, that Renamo had ample popular support among a peasantry alienated by Frelimo's misguided villagization policy and cultural insensitivity, against the position of Otto Roesch whose fieldwork in Gaza indicated that Renamo lacked a political base of popular support because of the violence and terror displayed in their attempt to

control the population (Nordstrom 1997, Weinstein 2006, Dinnerman 2007). In contrast, both O’Laughlin and Dinerman have remarked on the conceptual cul-de-sac of the discussion of popular support, which largely obscures the pragmatist and material elements informing the response of the population and ignores how social differentiation created an array of differentiated reactions.

In the case of Angónia, the oft-repeated argument that it was the dissolution of customary forms of local authority that alienated the peasantry from Frelimo’s socialist project does not seem to hold. People had learned to accept the Ngoni descendants as paramount chiefs, although they had been helped into that position by the Portuguese just a few generations before. In all three sites where interviews were conducted the prevailing sentiment regarding the post-independence regime was instead that the situation became critical with the loss of purchasers and the goods scarcity of the socialist period, and that it was made further untenable by Renamo’s later pillaging and violence (Blom 2002, 169).

### 5.3.3. Collectivization of production and farming cooperatives

The sudden departure of the Portuguese had consequences for agriculture and for trade. On the one hand, the settlers had been important employers of agricultural labour. With their departure many workers lost their jobs. The land that settlers had been farming reverted to the state rather than to the lineages and villages which had been originally dispossessed. On the other hand, the departure of Portuguese traders contributed to commercially isolating Angónia once again (Englund 1996, CEA 1983b). The CEA reports were somewhat disparaging of the conditions and prices they offered by the network of Portuguese traders, but it was clear that they were effective in creating a demand for agricultural products and had become the source of cash income of thousands of households throughout Angónia: “[Private shopkeepers] where they existed, in spite of having submitted the peasantry to high levels of exploitation, (...) had historically performed the role both of supplying the rural areas with production factors and consumer goods, and of buying local surpluses” (Coelho 1998). The Borderland traders had received financial support from the colonial authorities to set up shop on the border with the strategic mandate to ensure that Angónia’s

produce flowed towards Mozambique, not Malawi (Englund 1996). This they did in part through providing credit, jobs and buying surpluses, although many indulged in smuggling goods to Malawi as well as buying Malawian products. The traders had also been instrumental in the monetization of the district. They offered some forms of credit, or sold consumables against the agricultural products that were being bought. This period saw the emergence of a generalized market for fertilizer, pesticides, tools, radios, torches, shoes, *capulanas*, blankets, salt, soap, oil that the traders offered the local farmers on credit.

On the whole, the traders embodied merchant capital, appropriating surplus value from direct producers via interests on credit and prices. Still, cash cropping in the district thoroughly depended on their mediation. With the settler-traders, the supply of goods, the marketing outlets and the agricultural credit also disappeared. Frelimo insisted on the creation of cooperatives also for setting up commercial shops and had all private shops replaced with *lojas do povo* (the people's shops). The rationale was to provide goods at reasonable prices and to put an end to the financial exploitation of traders. But the collectivization of private shops spelled disaster and soon also the *lojas do povo* would experience shortages, discouragingly long queues and hoarding and profiteering by shopkeepers closer to the party (Coelho 1998).

A black market developed for the commodities that rural households needed in order to reproduce themselves. Inflation and goods-scarcity affected local employment at the same time as other sources of migratory wage employment had been drastically reduced. It has been estimated that 113,000 Mozambicans were recruited in South Africa in 1975. By 1976 only 32,000 were hired (Newitt 1995, 551). This had an amplified effect in distant labour reserves like Angónia which had relied historically in such sources of wage-employment. Producers were also extremely reluctant to manage their pooled cattle collectively. As the previous chapters have shown, production and reproduction were individualized in Angónia already during the colonial period. Communal working parties had become rare and cooperative farming imposed by Frelimo competed for labour with household farming. Furthermore the cooperatives were simply unable to provide households with the source of off-farm income required to get a farm started and running (Coelho 1998, O'Laughlin 1996, 25). Part of the backlash in



terms of production in the “family sector” was the fact that, with consumable goods unavailable in the *lojas do povo*, the agricultural producers lost any incentive to bring their surplus to the market. It is likely that by pushing the farmers into what must have been an unsustainable retreat to subsistence, Frelimo’s collectivization policies prepared the ground for the support that Renamo would receive in some parts of the district.

#### 5.3.4 The socialization of production: the Agro-Industrial Complex of Angónia

The centrepiece of Frelimo’s economic strategy for transition was the attempt to decisively shift towards industrial agriculture. The brunt of agricultural investment and administrative support went into the creation and operation of nationalized large-scale farms. To this end, Frelimo mobilised the cooperation of friendly nations and imported machinery and equipment. The development and maintenance of these projects also concentrated most of the public finance available for agriculture (West and Myers 1996, Wuyts 1985, O’Laughlin 1996).

CAIA was set up on land expropriated from one of the largest Portuguese farmers in the district and integrating hundreds of satellite plots scattered across the district. In its late stages the complex also encroached on land claimed by Mozambican farmers. Frelimo’s decision to incorporate expropriated land into the agro-industrial project rather than return it to the original claimants, although necessary if the productive revolution was to take place, had a political cost (CEA 1983b). Frelimo faced the need to guarantee stability in the supply of agricultural products in the internal market. To make this possible, the agricultural policy relied on what it expected would be capital-intensive driven productivity revolution.

But here too, centralized planning did not hit the mark. CAIA faced many difficulties, many of which were a product of a top-down strategy based on the wrong diagnosis of the agrarian structure of the district. CAIA and the agricultural producers specialised in the same crops, rendering the mobilization of labour during peak work periods extremely difficult. CAIA opted for seasonal workers instead of permanent workers who could have reproduced themselves fully on their wages. No proper working class emerged and when faced with

recruitment problems, managers appealed to customary chiefs as in the colonial period. The pay was low and irregular and when the crisis deepened, workers went without pay. The size of the enterprise required efficient management for which there was no existing capacity. Technical bottlenecks, reliance on imported machinery, and soon also diversion and the emergence of a black market of inputs resulted in falling yields. This happened at the same time as agricultural producers lost the existing networks for commercialization. Invariably, workers stopped coming for work in CAIA. The appalling working conditions alienated the potential workers and agricultural producers in the district resented that CAIA, unlike Portuguese settlers, did not buy their produce (CEA 1983a, 1983b, O’Laughlin 1996).

#### 5.3.5. Mounting pressure and societal crisis

The tragedy of the socialist post-independence project was in part attributable to Frelimo’s attempt to thoroughly transform the Mozambican countryside in the space of a few years. Underlying this was a distorted understanding of the socio-economic dynamics of agricultural production in the country that unwisely assumed that most rural producers were small-scale subsistence farmers that stood to benefit either from collective farming or from agro-industrial employment.

As discussed in Chapter IV, social differentiation was advanced in the colonial period to such a degree that the collectivization of assets and production ran into staunch opposition. Dependence on commercial networks, traded inputs and consumables was advanced so that disruptions to the purchase of agricultural products from producers or to the supply of basic necessities indeed drove households into reproduction crises. CAIA generated some employment, and in part compensated for the dwindling recruitment of Mozambicans in the neighbouring countries, but the contracts were seasonal and they reinforced rather than challenged the colonial patterns of employment that resulted in incomplete proletarianization. The kind of productive revolution that Frelimo needed in order to sustain the socialist transition created many sources of opposition. Necessary as it was, it did not manage to compensate most sectors in

Angónia for the profound stress it was creating. This, combined with the sabotage campaign of Renamo, sealed the unsustainability of the economic strategy.

When the economic crisis intensified food shortages became generalized, as it was already evident to the CEA researchers visiting the district in 1982.<sup>2</sup> Had the population of Angónia been constituted by subsistence farmers as it was - and continues to be – claimed (Juergensen 1996, Blom 2002 and more generally for Mozambique, Dinerman 2006), they would not have been affected by the socialization of the countryside and the anti-Frelimo sentiment would not have been as prominent as it was. Interviews with producers active at the time indicate that more than the dissolution of customary power structures or the mismanagement of the agro-industrial complex, it was Frelimo's suppression of private enterprise and commercial activities that more directly and universally affected rural producers in Angónia. Neither the production of cooperatives nor the employment generated in CAIA – both largely disappointing - were enough to compensate for the price that rural households in Angónia were paying for the socialization of the country side (Coelho 1998).

Two issues are raised here with implications for the analysis of the case study in this research. As the following chapter will show, there is nothing in Angónia that is antithetical to accelerated socio-economic transformation. The rapid adoption of tobacco in the post-war period and the profound changes it brought are testament to this. The difference between the transformation elicited by the tobacco boom and that of the socialization of the countryside is that the former has created a group of producers that have clearly benefitted and accumulated on the basis of tobacco revenue. Transformation here is the adaptation of the structures of production in response to opportunities for local economic expansion. In contrast, in the case of the socialist transition, the direction of

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<sup>2</sup> CEA is the Centre of African Studies of the University Eduardo Mondlane in Maputo. In the late 1970s, CEA was headed by Aquino Braganca and Ruth First. Their famous development studies course was taught by Bridget O'Laughlin and Marc Wuyts, among others. CEA pioneered field research missions to the districts to document, understand and provide evidence to the government in the era of the socialist transition. Their reports, not all of which were translated from Portuguese, provide an all-encompassing perspective on the political economy of Mozambique. In 1982 - a few months before the attack on First in the CEA offices - CEA had conducted a month-long research trip to Angónia.

change ran in the opposite direction: it was forced on the structures of production (use of land and labour) with the purpose of igniting productivity gains, which at the end were not realized.

Finally, a central argument of this study is that the civil war in Angónia was a central determinant of the changing social and economic trajectory of the district. The literature on Angónia has not yet been able to provide a contextualized assessment of the impact of war in the district as compared with other affected districts in Mozambique. Taking into consideration the data available it becomes clear that the magnitude of the humanitarian emergency experienced in Angónia was greater than elsewhere in Mozambique. As the next section will describe, Angónia was, by far, the district in the whole of Mozambique that generated the most refugees and one of the worst affected by violence and destruction. The humanitarian literature explained the high rate of displacement as a consequence of Angónia's unusually dense population concentration and its proximity to an international border (Juergensen 1996, 1998). Here it is claimed that such an explanation is incomplete, and that the productive crisis brewing in the pre-war years needs to be considered.

Already at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, households in Angónia were highly dependent on their participation in migrant labour market as well as in markets for agricultural produce, inputs and consumables. The previous chapter showed the extent to which for most of the rural population of Angónia reproduction was no longer viable outside the cash economy. The economic crisis that preceded the arrival of Renamo to the district severely restricted commercial exchange and thus worsened rural livelihoods. To take O'Laughlin's argument about the contingency and irreversibility of the long process of proletarianization further, it is proposed that it was the heightened unviability of subsistence agriculture for a population with such an entrenched trajectory of labour and commodity market participation that pushed them to cross into Malawi. The more precarious livelihoods that labour migration had carved in the borderlands also resulted in the imperative to flee to Malawi when the socialist project and the war quelled the commercial networks on which farming depended.

### 5.3. Angónia at war

‘A desolate landscape... in parts devoid of any sign of human existence; in other parts peppered with burned houses and abandoned fields’ was the description offered by a scholar recalling how Angónia looked from the Malawian border during the war. This section examines the onset and development of the war in Angónia and its effects on the later transformation of the productive structure and, more specifically, on the life stories of the households interviewed as part of this project.

The provinces of central Mozambique were the stronghold of Renamo. Renamo’s origins were firmly rooted in the provinces of Sofala and Manica – with a central base, Casa Banana, in Gorongosa – and most of its original combatants were ChiNdau and ChiSena speakers (Vines 1996, Hall and Young 1997), but throughout the war Renamo consolidated its position in all of the central provinces. It was there that Renamo set up military bases and it was this region that experienced the brunt of Renamo’s hostilities and Frelimo’s counter insurgency attacks. The political geography of war in Angónia followed the pattern of other districts in the central provinces: as the war advanced, the warring parties reached a stalemate, with Frelimo defending its control over major cities and district capitals while Renamo dominated the *mato* by resorting alternatively to guerrilla tactics, sabotage and terrorism in some areas, and to accommodation, co-option and protection of civilians in others. Renamo’s attacks in Angónia followed the logic of disrupting transport links to Malawi and targeting communal villages and representatives of the state (village secretaries, teachers, international *cooperantes*). At the height of the war in Angónia, Frelimo controlled only a perimeter around the capital, Vila Ulongue, and the second largest town, Domwe.

#### 5.4.1. An epistemological note: understanding the impact of war in Angónia

Before assessing the impact of the war and the perceptions that people had of the warring parties it is important to add a word of caution: there are known limitations to ethnographic research during wartime as well as about the ex-post reconstruction of processes of war. In a context such as Angónia, where there is

limited archival material, it becomes necessary to rely on oral testimonials and personal recollection. But this entails its own risks.

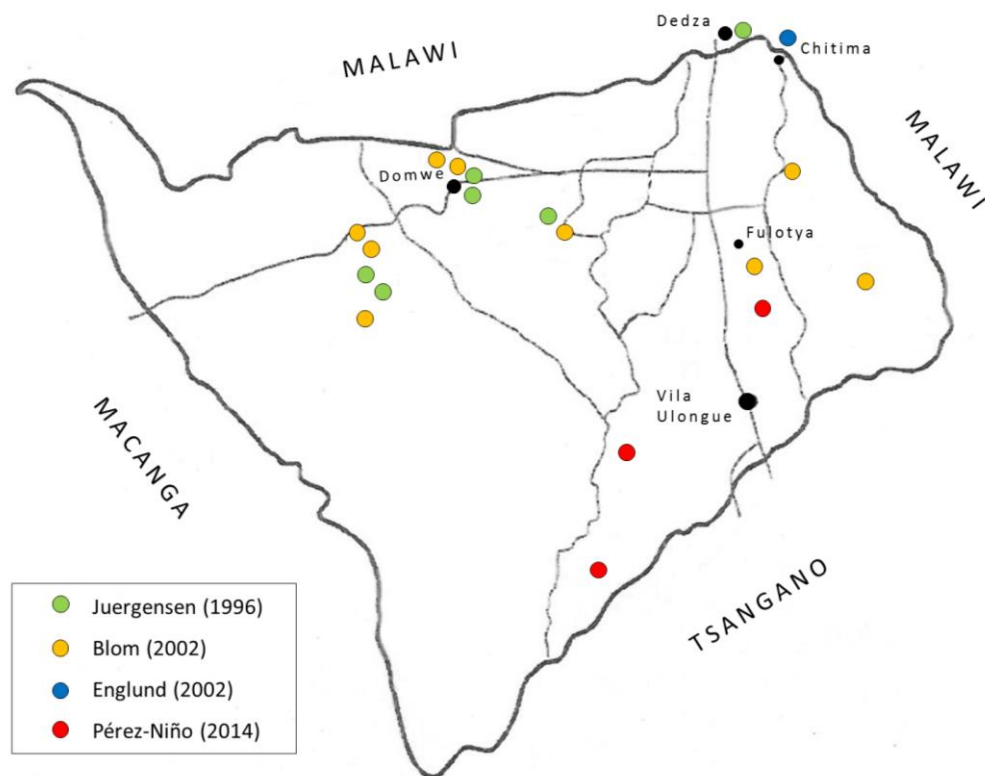
Attempts to reconstruct a history of war on the basis of oral testimonials encounter problems with generalization and representation about which researchers that conducted their studies during the war reflected extensively (Gersony 1988, Nordstrom 1997, Dinerman 2007). First, mixing the testimonials of people that were scattered in the territory during the war limits the extent to which the drivers of local processes can be thoroughly studied. Dispersed testimonials also compromise the triangulation and aggregation of information. It would be extremely difficult to design a sampling strategy that is representative of the variety of experiences and outcomes in a process of war and displacement. Second, localized accounts are not necessarily generalizable. As will be discussed in the case of Angónia, complex and changing balances of power among the warring parties had different and contradictory consequences for the population varying in terms of different social groups, age, gender and geographic location. The contrasted examination of the evidence available shows that no broad generalization about the sentiment of the rural population of Angónia is possible.

This does not mean that rigorous study of war and displacement processes is not viable, but it does set limits on what can and cannot be done with the information collected and it supposes some critical reflection on the part of the researcher. This research project did not set out to reconstruct the wartime experiences of the population of Angónia in general, but to trace the war experiences of a sample of present-day tobacco producers. In order to contextualize their experiences this study draws on research conducted by other scholars, but it is necessary to work on the understanding that the empirical evidence about the war in Angónia, as Map 5.1 shows, is thin and replete with blind spots (Juergensen 1996, Englund 2002, Blom 2002).

Furthermore, past studies on Angónia have privileged a type of analysis focused on the power relations between chiefs and the population or between the rural population and the state. Recent historical studies on Angónia have ignored the role of social differentiation and processes of class formation in mediating the

experience of war and its aftermath. This has also led to misleading generalizations. Experiences of violence, loss and displacement were indeed very different depending on the array of resources and networks that the respondents could draw upon. In some instances the assumption that Angónia was populated by an undifferentiated peasantry leads researchers to present the opinions and stories of wealthier or poorer respondents as if they were automatically representative of the experiences of the peasantry as a whole.

Map 5.1 Field research sites in Angónia during the post-war period



Source: the author based on map in Blom (2002)

Finally, it is evident from contrasting the different sources and existing testimonials that the very act of remembering and the collective and individual processes of forming narratives of the war are shaped by later experiences and contingent on the situation and position that respondents find themselves in at the moment of the interview. Testimonials collected during the late 1990s appear more favourable to Renamo, then the most powerful political force in the district, whereas Frelimo was depicted more positively in the interviews conducted in

this research, now that Frelimo has consolidated its political presence in the district and wholly controls the state apparatus.

#### 5.4.2. The progression of the war in Angónia

For the most part the Renamo insurgency was alien to the District of Angónia until the 1980s, but rumours about what was happening in other parts of Mozambique reached the district. Radio emissions organized by Renamo and broadcast from Rhodesia started to be picked up in Mozambique (Juergensen 1996, Hall and Young 1997). In these programmes Renamo denounced Frelimo for importing a socialist model that was alien and contrary to local traditions, for overthrowing the chieftaincies and for forcing the rural population to join production cooperatives. These messages echoed among the population around the town of Domwue and the Chide chieftaincy, who were farther from the agro-industrial complex and where numerous cooperatives had been set up.

But the advance of the conflict to Angónia was just a matter of time. Angónia was fertile and densely populated, and it was not a Frelimo stronghold. Renamo would find it easier to sustain an army there. The district was also the easiest route into Malawi, where Renamo found ample support from the conservative regime of Kamuzu Banda until at least 1985 (Vines 1996). By 1983 Renamo had set up its first armed presence in the Southwestern margins of the district, crossing the Namanse River from Macanga. From this point until the end of the war, Renamo retained control of the southwestern quadrant of Angónia, the more sparsely populated and least integrated area of the district (Juergensen 1996, Blom 2002). Actions and movements were coordinated from bases in Macanga and an important network moving food and resources linked the Southwest to the vanguard of Renamo's influence in the north and east. Later on, Renamo managed to set up a base in Nkanga, near the border, and at least one in Chide.

In 1983 the first armed attack took place in Angónia when Renamo raided and occupied villages in Katondo, the southern tip of the district. From there Renamo advanced northwards on the basis of hit and run attacks. Government troops found it increasingly challenging to defend the district. By 1984 Renamo



had in one way or another made its presence known throughout the territory, although it took until 1986 to move into the heartland of the district around Vila Ulongue. By then Renamo had bases also along the Malawian border and operated out of Malawi as well (Juergensen 1998, 2002; Englund 2002). However, in 1984 Mozambique and the Apartheid regime negotiated the terms of the Nkomati Agreement that would severely de-escalate the hostility between the two states. Although the agreement was not thoroughly honoured, Frelimo agreed to scale back its support for the ANC on condition that South Africa would stop financing and training Renamo (Vines 1996, Hall and Young 1997).

Renamo continued receiving surreptitious support from the South African armed forces, but funding did suffer. Observers agree that around this time Renamo, desperate for funding, was forced into exacting more from the zones where it had gained control (Gersony 1988, Newitt 1995, Nordstrom 1997). The sites of our research were spread along the axis that connects Macanga and Dedza on foot. All three suffered Renamo attacks.

The wartime story of the three research sites was somewhat different. South and Central Angónia were en route from a large Renamo base in Matenge, the southernmost border with the district of Macanga, and therefore experienced earlier violence from both Renamo and Frelimo. Some of the households interviewed lived at the time in the village that had been designated as *aldeamento*. Households here typically fled after attacks or after a member of the household was kidnapped or forcibly recruited, but the communal village was also attacked and set on fire by Renamo in 1985. Of all of the Mozambican respondents in South and Central Angónia clusters - 63 in total - only 5 remained in Angónia. For the most part, families in this part of the district fled northwards to Dedza, most had no contacts in Malawi and settled originally in refugee settlements along the border.

Villagers in North Angónia were closer to the district capital and to the Malawian border. Renamo's control here came later and all of the households interviewed here (33) were displaced, most of them as a consequence of the Renamo attack in 1986 when several people were killed, notably all teachers and

village secretaries, and the village was burned down. People here were familiar with Malawi and fled eastwards towards Lizulu and Ntchew.

These attacks in central and southern Angónia after 1986 seem to give credence to the view that Renamo became more predatory in the mid-1980s as a consequence of the Nkomati accords and of Machel's (and then Chissano's) Pressure on Banda to cut ties with Renamo. Both the households that fled the district (91) and those that stayed (5) were victims of violence. Gersony reported widespread sexual violence, and brutal forms of torture, mainly on the part of Renamo. From the beginning most of Renamo's recruitment was forced, and in order to keep the discipline, many recruits were terrified and brutalized. In the subsample of Mozambican households 46 had one or more close family member killed; 9 had family members that were forcibly recruited, or were themselves recruited; 6 reported being kidnapped or having a member of the household abducted by armed actors and 4 reported having their houses burned or their productive assets and cattle stolen. Only few respondents could name the group that victimized their households and motivated their displacement. In 18 of the cases the aggressor was Renamo and in two it was Frelimo (Table 5.1). This would suggest a very different story from that portrayed by Juergensen in the western parts of the district (see below), but sadly the sub-sample of 20 respondents is too small to be a reliable indicator of the population's victimization, let alone their perception of the warring parties.

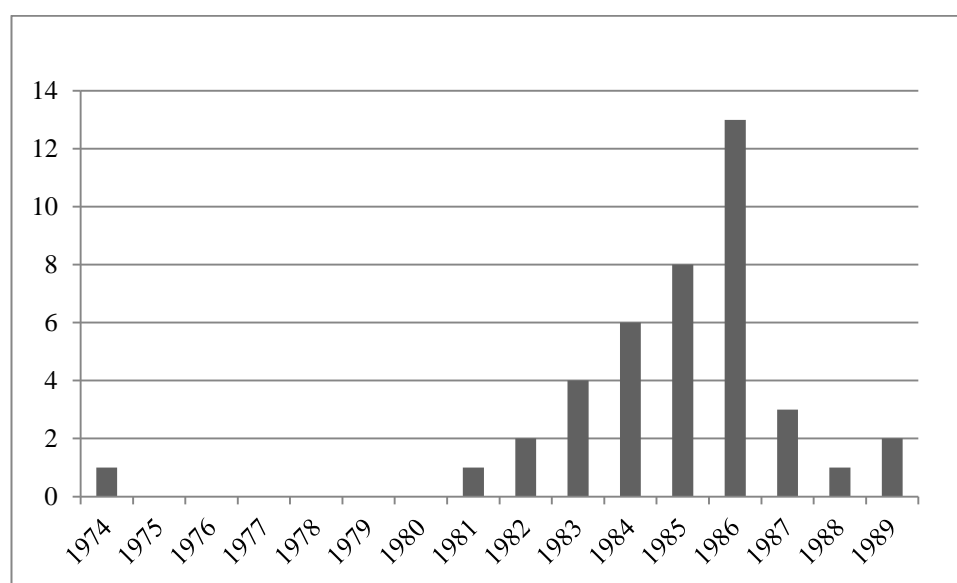
Only 40 of the Mozambican respondents in the sample remember the exact year in which they fled Mozambique, but among those that can recall the year they left, 77 per cent had crossed to Malawi by 1985. This corresponds to UNHCR data that registered a 1986 peak in terms of refugee caseload in Malawi (Cammack 1987, Juergensen 1996).

Table 5.1 Displacement and victimization of respondents in the sample

<b>Sample</b>	<b>102</b>
Mozambican	96
Commercial	1
Malawian	5
<hr/>	
<b>From Mozambicans</b>	<b>96</b>
Displaced	91
Displaced in Malawi	87
Displaced not in Malawi	4
Not displaced	5
<hr/>	
<b>Victimization</b>	
Close relative killed	46
Relative or respondent recruited	9
Relative or respondent kidnapped	6
House burned	8
Cattle, assets stolen	4
<hr/>	
<b>Known Victimizer</b>	
Renamo	18
Frelimo	2

(Source: STFA)

Graph 5.2 Year in which respondents fled their villages



(Source: STFA)

Some of those interviewed first fled to the Vila where the government had a military base that held out until the end of the war. IDPs took over houses and plots abandoned by others that had fled to Malawi. The road leading to Tete could only be used under the protection of a military column, but soon even this was too difficult and all transport to Tete was diverted via Malawi. Secondary roads exposed people to increasing perils, such as the risk of forced recruitment. Thus life in the villages became less viable. Only a corridor to the Malawian town of Mlangueni remained open. Renamo started making isolated attacks and surrounding Vila Ulongue in 1986. Foreign *cooperantes* were killed then. Finally, Renamo stormed the Vila on the morning of July 26, 1987. During this attack many villagers were captured and taken to Renamo bases. Others hid in the mountains and started the walk towards the border. Ultimately most people ended up fleeing to Malawi.

Only 5 respondents in the sample remained in rural Angónia, and those that did were forced to sleep in the fields to avoid night-time attacks and to farm covertly so as not to lose their maize to armed actors. In at least one case in North Angónia, a separated woman caring for her elderly mother and her children, the household had no means to embark on a journey to Malawi and were torn between the insecurity of remaining and the uncertainty of leaving.

Throughout Angónia displacement was a traumatic experience, frequently following acts of violence. But displacement was experienced differently according to social groups. Some of the wealthier and better connected people in the Vila managed to rent a house and, in time, to buy land in Mlangueni. Other people had family members and connections in Malawi and through them finding a place to settle or getting access to land was a possibility, but many – particularly those coming from farther from the border - had no connections in Malawi and became landless dwellers of the refugee settlements or asked local chiefs for the right to settle in the villages where they crossed the border.

#### 5.4.3. The role of agency: did Angónia support Renamo? An open debate

‘Most of our people have fled as refugees to Malawi. There is always fighting and we do not know the difference between sides. They all wear the same uniform and carry the same weapons. They all demand food even though we have none ourselves, and they all punish us if we feed ‘the enemy’. The only difference is that at least Renamo does not stop us worshipping god and teaching the gospel.’

-Three pastors in Angónia (Vines 1996, 102)

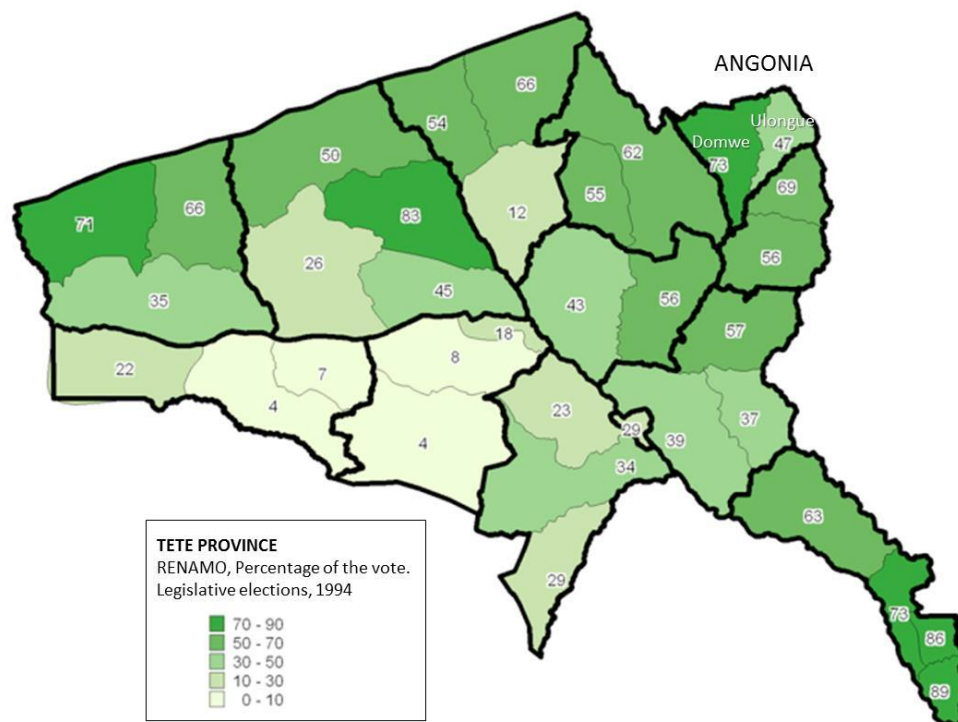
The beginning of this chapter described the lukewarm reception that Frelimo experienced in Angónia during independence and the many reasons that made rural producers feel alienated by the changes that the socialization of the countryside was imposing on their lives. It is also evident that Renamo’s political discourse resonated with many in the rural areas. This cut across social classes, but included shop keepers and traders that were prevented from independent trading; claimants of land dispossessed by Portuguese settlers, which Frelimo did not restore to them; and people that experienced increasing difficulties in getting hold of consumer goods, seed and tools, but that knew that those with connections to Frelimo and the *Lojas do Povo* abused their preferential access to these goods. Notably Renamo found support among former *assimilados*, descendents of the old *prazo* holders, missionaries and former *sipaios*. One prominent *assimilado* of Vila Ulongue became close to Renamo and formally joined the organization while studying for a degree in Portugal. He came to hold important position in the political structure (Vines 1996).

In some parts of the district Renamo gained widespread acceptance and retained it through the first post-conflict elections in 1994 and 1999, but this was more the case in the Domwe sub-district than in Ulongue (Map 5.2 and Vines 1996,2). Drawing mostly on the testimonials of respondents from Domwe, Juergensen concluded that the peasantry in Angónia sided with Renamo and found protection to remain in Renamo-controlled areas (1996).

According to Juergensen the main driver of displacement to Malawi was attacks by government forces on the population. The interviews carried out for this

research reveal that there was widespread discontent with Frelimo to begin with, but that both sides engaged in acts of violence against the population and in all three cases displacement was ultimately motivated by attacks by Renamo. The original village studied by Englund was receptive to the arrival of Renamo. Despite being largely favourable, Renamo became ultimately hostile after 1986, attacking the village and forcing their migration to Malawi (2002). The high number of refugees invites a reconsideration of the extent to which the rural population felt protected by or sided with Renamo. Interviews for this research documented innumerable acts by Renamo that victimized the communities where interviews were conducted. Gersony documented many cases in which the population was not allowed to migrate by Renamo. Juergensen's proposition that there was popular support for Renamo, based on the fact that some 18,000 villagers remained in Domwe throughout the war, could be examined in this light. Gersony also remarked on the lack of systematic complaints of the same type against Frelimo (1988). Map 5.2 shows the electoral results of the first legislative elections of 1994. There was widespread support for Renamo in the Domwe sub-district and no marked preference in the Ulongue sub-district.

Map 5.2 Electoral results first post-conflict election of 1994



Source: Brito (n.a.)

Forced recruitment was the means used by Renamo for their expansion in Central Mozambique. Renamo did not use the main roads or automotive transport; in order to sustain the troops on pillage and taxation of villagers it was necessary to carry the goods back to the bases (Gersony 1988). Women and men of all ages were abducted and forced to carry goods to Renamo's bases. Abductions and subsequent work as porters was experienced by some of the respondents and their relatives. Renamo had its own *machambas* farmed by the captives. Many families became separated in this manner: parents would lose all trace of some of their children. When someone fled a base, they would bring back news to the village or the refugee settlement about the fate of other people still retained, some people never found their children again, and some children spent a whole decade separated. One of the North Angónia respondents had 4 of her children abducted by Renamo, 3 of whom she managed to recover seven years later because they had been abandoned in Villa Ulongue, but one of them was never found.

#### **5.4. The Malawian decade**

The Mozambican civil war was one of the deadliest and most prolonged post-independence conflicts in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. COW reports a death toll of 1.2 million (Sarkees et al. 2003, cited in Lacina and Gleditsch 2006; Lacina et al. 2006. Lacina and Gleditsch (2005) estimate 500,000 to 1 million deaths, including 145,400 battle deaths. In over a decade of hostilities 2 million Mozambicans crossed international borders seeking humanitarian assistance and a further 3 to 4 million were displaced internally from their places of origin. The destruction caused by the war was widespread, but ravaged particularly the provinces in central Mozambique where Renamo was stronger. As shown in table 5.5, Malawi was the country in the region that received most Mozambican refugees, 1.2 million in total, and their impact was dramatic in relation to the total population of Malawi, 8.1 million at the time. At the height of the refugee crisis, Mozambicans amounted to 12 per cent of the population in Malawi. The Mozambican districts bordering Malawi (Milange, Morrumbala, Gurúè and Angónia) are among the most populous districts of Mozambique. Angónia was - and remains - Mozambique's most densely populated rural district, excluding

major peri-urban districts as well as island districts and ports (INE 2009). According to UNHCR data in 1996 the population of Angónia accounted for 40 per cent of the total population of the district of Tete (Blom 2002). Most of the refugee population in Malawi came from Tete, the province in Mozambique from which the largest number of refugees came (most of them from Angónia, see tables 5.6 and 5.7).

Angónia was the most depopulated district in the whole of Mozambique because of the war (Dzimbiri 1993, Wilson and Nunes 1994, Juergensen 1996). Keeping strictly to available data it is not possible to estimate what proportion of the population fled to Malawi, but the existing information eloquently describes the severity of the crisis: while the district had an estimated population of 204,000 in 1980 (Juergensen 1996, from the Ministry of Agriculture), at the end of the war in 1992 there were 322,000 registered refugees from the territory included in Angónia (Table 5.5).<sup>3</sup> This number did not include the unregistered, nor those who were displaced to other districts and countries. The only available estimates calculate that upwards of 80 per cent of the population of Angónia was displaced, overwhelmingly to Malawi (Blom 2002, 174), but this again may have had very different manifestations in different parts of the district. In the three research sites of the survey, the totality of the population fled the villages, but it is likely that in parts of western Angónia people could afford to remain, or were prevented from leaving by Renamo, as it happened in districts documented by Gersony (1988).

Table 5.3 Mozambican IDPs and refugees by destination

<i>Destination</i>	<i>Population</i>
IDPs	3-4 million
Malawi	1.1 million
South Africa	200,000
Zimbabwe	140,000
Zambia	25,000
Swaziland	24,000
Tanzania	20,000

Source: UNHCR. In: Juergensen (1996).

<sup>3</sup> N.B. In 1980 the District included the sub-districts of Ulongue, Domwe, Mtengo WaMbalame and Tsangano. By the time of return, the district had been administratively separated. Angónia then consisted of Ulongue and Domwe only. The datum for the return in table 5.7 includes all the sub-district in the original make up of Angónia (Angónia and Tsangano).



Table 5.4 Origin of refugees in Malawi by province in 1993

<i>Province of origin</i>	<i>Refugees</i>
Sofala	52,000
Zambezia	230,000
Tete	593,000
Niassa	68,000
Undetermined	157,000
<i>Total Registered</i>	<i>1,100,000</i>

Source: UNHCR. In: Juergensen (1996).

Table 5.5 Return from Malawi by district of origin in 1993

<i>District</i>	<i>Expected Returnees</i>
TETE	
Angónia*	220,000
Tsangano*	82,000
Macanga	43,000
Chiuta	5,000
Mutarara	150,000

\*The Angónia district was separated from Tsangano in 1987

Source: UNHCR. In: Juergensen (1996).

### 5.5.1 Refugee settlements along the border

The respondents in the sample crossed into Malawi and joined refugee settlements or looked for family members and connections to settle among them. Of central importance once in Malawi was to get registered as a refugee, because with the status applicants would have access to the coveted ration cards that gave households access to food and other necessities. Cards could eventually be sold or leased and became an important currency in the informal market that emerged around settlements (Callamard 1994).

The clearest feature of the refugee settlement was that only a minority of households managed to secure access to land. Those that borrowed or leased land could organize their livelihood accordingly, although the maize that could be grown in a field would in no case be sufficient to secure the subsistence of a family group throughout the year. Very few had access to a garden with water all year round. Some of the respondents who settled closer to the border would tend fields inside Mozambique. Others would gather wood in Mozambique to sell in

Malawi, but there were risks involved in entering Mozambique (Ager et al. 1995).

The situation was harder for the majority of households that could not secure access to land. This was invariably the first time in the lives of many of our respondents that they were functionally landless. Landlessness not only restricted the production of food, and the commercial possibilities that having products for sale could bring, but also affected the identity of refugees who found themselves idle and traumatized. Several of the survey respondents expressed their frustration at not having any land to farm and having to engage in income generation activities with very irregular earnings.

What the studies of Mozambican refugees generally missed was the fact that thousands migrated inland into the tobacco production areas of Malawi and became wartime migrant labourers (e.g. Juergensen 1998, Ager et al. 1995, Barnett et al. 2003, Bonga 1993, Callamard 1994, Cammack 1987, Dzimbiri, Wilson and Nunes 1994). Humanitarian food assistance may have provided a social floor, but was insufficient to sustain the refugees' livelihoods. The war created a parenthesis, exceptional conditions in which migrant refugee wage workers became wartime proletarians. Refugee studies, localized and overemphasising food security and income generation strategies, failed to recognize and quantify the prevalence and importance of migratory wage-employment (Dzimbiri 1993, Wilson and Nunes 1994). The literature broadly missed the more general interaction of the refugees in the Malawian economy and the impact that the influx of so many landless producers had on Malawian labour markets.

#### 5.5.2 Labour trajectories of the refugee population

In contrast with the limitations of the humanitarian literature, authors that studied the tobacco boom in central Malawi around the time when Mozambicans crossed into Malawi did note a substantial and continuously growing number of Mozambican refugees venturing northwards into the tobacco heartland of Kasungu and finding employment there (Torres 2000, Jaffe et al. 1991).

It is worth noting that these two pieces of the puzzle have not been put together thus far: the authors that were studying the Mozambicans *qua* refugees did not remark on the importance of migrant labour, while the authors that studied the relations of production in the tobacco sector registered the Mozambicans *qua* migrant workers but did not reflect on the implications of their situation as refugees and wartime landless population in determining their position in the structure of production.

The potent pull of the tobacco sector was motivated by the considerable expansion of estate agriculture in central Malawi (Kasungu, Mchinji, Lilongwe) during the 1970s as 80s (Jaffe et al. 1991, Prowse 2013). Medium to large farms were operated by a combination of permanent and seasonal labourers and tenant farmers. It was estimated that around 7 per cent of the total population in Malawi consisted on tobacco tenants, 75 per cent of them in the central region, and that in the district of Kasungu alone tenants and their dependents represented around 48 per cent of the total population. Nationwide, approximately 1 million labourers and dependents lived on tobacco estates and it was estimated that around 8 per cent of the labour force in Kasungu, the largest producing district, was composed of Mozambican refugees. The datum stems from a small survey conducted in 1990 and may be an underestimate: Chichewa-speaking respondents from Angónia had reasons to conceal their true origin and were able to pass for Malawians.

In our own survey, 80 per cent of those who were refugees working for wages in Malawi worked in tobacco estates and 73 per cent of the tobacco labourers worked in Kasungu. Taking the estimate of 1 million tobacco labourers in Mozambique, using the estimate of 8 per cent of the labour force in tobacco composed of Mozambican workers and extrapolating it to the 1.1 million refugees in Malawi a very rough estimate of the participation in wage-labour in tobacco can be attempted. If a modal family is considered for the sake of the estimation to consist of 6 people, it could be argued that there would be 80,000 families depending on tobacco wages, out of an estimated total 184,000 refugee families in Malawi. That would correspond to 47 per cent of the refugee families depending on tobacco. This is a very rough estimate, but if correct, its implications are remarkable. Considering the magnitude of this labour

mobilization, Jaffe et al. noted that labour migration to tobacco estates profoundly transformed the demographic distribution in Malawi (1991).

The sample of contemporary Mozambican tobacco farmers is not representative of the experience of Mozambican refugees in general because there could be reverse causation: those households that participated in tobacco production in Malawi could be more likely to adopt tobacco once back in Mozambique. But the extremely high proportion of the respondents whose livelihoods during the Malawian decade depended on tobacco wages provides additional support to the observation that wage employment was a central component of the livelihoods of refugees in Malawi and quantitatively more important than alternative income-generation activities.

The sample from the Survey of tobacco producers found that 67 per cent of all male respondents who were 15 or older before the end of the war had been in wage employment during the years they spent in Malawi as refugees. Notably all men in this sample aged 20-30 at the beginning of the war took up wage employment in Malawi. The vast majority of those employed, 81 per cent, worked in tobacco estates as tenants, permanent and seasonal workers, foremen and child helpers (see Table 5.6).

In contrast, a mere 32 per cent of men reported depending on income generation activities not related to wage employment. Women were underrepresented in permanent employment in tobacco because their labour was counted as part of the household labour input in tenancy agreements and it was less common to find them as permanent and casual labourers of the estates. In many cases husbands migrated to work in tobacco, leaving their families behind in the refugee settlement. Unsurprisingly then, women tend to participate more in alternative income generation activities such as petty trade with food and wood or brewing alcohol. Of all women respondents in the sample of tobacco farmers who lived as refugees in Malawi, 50 per cent declared relying on income generation activities against 30 per cent who received wages.

Furthermore, 48 per cent of the men and 47 per cent of the women in all ages in the sample of refugees came from households in which members other than the respondent were employed for wages. This is especially the case for the

youngest cohort of men and women who were too young to work but whose parents worked predominantly in tobacco estates.

Table 5.6 Respondent's economic activities during the war

		Men displaced in Malawi (n=71)*				Women displaced in Malawi (n=14)**			
		Cohort 1 (b. ≤ 1956)	Cohort 2 (b. 1957-1966)	Cohort 3 (b. 1967-1976)	Cohort 4 (b. ≥ 1977)	Cohort 1 (b. ≤ 1956)	Cohort 2 (b. 1957-1966)	Cohort 3 (b. 1967-1976)	Cohort 4 (b. ≥ 1977)
<b>n</b>		<b>7</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Working during the war</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Respondents who worked, as a percentage of all respondents in cohort</b>		<b>57%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>45%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>0%</b>
Activity	Tobacco - tenant	2	2						
	Tobacco - monthly (ticket)	1	8	3	1				
	Tobacco - seasonal (contract)		1	4					
	Tobacco - foreman	1							
	Tobacco - Child helper			2	1			1	
	Ganyu, agriculture		3					1	
	Employee -shop, factory, house		1	1			1		
	Sugar plantation - seasonal labourer		1						
	Shepherd - Boy				1				
	Kasungu	4	6	7	2		1	1	
	Nchinji		3		1				
Location	Mangochi		2						
	Lilongwe		1	3					
	Dedza		1						
	Mwanza		1						
	Nkhotakhota		1						
	Lizulu							1	
	Other		1						

Continues...

Men displaced in Malawi (n=71)*					Women displaced in Malawi (n=14)**			
	Cohort 1 (b. ≤ 1956)	Cohort 2 (b. 1957- 1966)	Cohort 3 (b. 1967- 1976)	Cohort 4 (b. ≥ 1977)	Cohort 1 (b. ≤ 1956)	Cohort 2 (b. 1957-1966)	Cohort 3 (b. 1967- 1976)	Cohort 4 (b. ≥ 1977)
<b>Other members of the household working during the war</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>2</b>		<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Respondents whose relatives worked, as a percentage of all respondents in cohort</b>	<b>43%</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>50%</b>		<b>50%</b>	<b>50%</b>
Relation to respondent								
Wife/husband	3	8			2		1	
Father		1	1	8				1
Mother				1				
Both parents			5	5			1	1
Grandfather				2				
Activity								
Tobacco - tenant	2	2	2	2			1	
Tobacco - monthly (ticketi)	1	6	1	9				
Ganyu, agriculture		1	2	3	1			1
Employee -shop, factory, house			1	1	1		1	
Ganyu, not in agriculture				1				1
<b>Other sources of income (number of respondents that reported)</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>
%	<b>29%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>35%</b>	<b>39%</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>25%</b>
Activity								
Selling fish	2	1	1	2				1
Stall	1		1					
Brewing beer	1	2	2	1	2		1	
Petty trade of vegetables		1	1	2				
Stall		1		2				
Taylor		1						
Kaunjika -trade second hand clothing			1	1				
Selling reed baskets			1					
Selling doughnuts				3				
Trade with coal and firewood					2	1		
Selling refugee rations					1		1	

Source: Survey of tobacco producers

In pre-war Angónia, wage employment was markedly gendered, with women relegated to irregular jobs as casual agricultural labourers. In this respect their employment experience in Malawi, as part of tenant households and seasonal workers, was the first time many women (30 per cent in our sample) worked primarily for wages. But this was also the case with very young children that were routinely recruited by tobacco estates in Malawi. Respondents aged 12 and 13 reported working as labourers in tobacco estates. Some were recruited along with older male relatives, and others would help their tenant parents. The incorporation of workers that combined characteristics such as being migrants, refugees, women or young children is indicative of the power relations that characterized the labour engagements of the Mozambican refugees.

According to Jaffe et al. (1991), migrant tenants were preferred to locals, because by putting distance between the tenants and their land or homestead, it was easier to guarantee that the labour power of the tenants could not be diverted to helping in the agricultural production in their own land or in land owned by relatives. Refugees with no access to land in Malawi were therefore easier to discipline in this sense. Tenancy agreements in Malawi as in post-war Mozambique allowed employers to relax the costs of monitoring by transferring the risk and variability of the agricultural endeavour to the tenant. Payment at the end of the agricultural season corresponded to a fraction of the final revenue, unlike wage workers. It was in the interest of tenants to employ themselves intensively and to monitor and discipline the work of their hired-in labourers. According to some of our interviewees, Mozambican workers in Malawian tobacco estates would be referred to as ‘Malefuchi’ (refugees) or ‘Mpanhira’ –a likely chewanization of *Companhia*, as in *Companhia de Sena*, the colonial concessionary of *prazo* Angónia.

According to respondents in the survey of tobacco producers, recruiters from central Malawi had a network of contacts in the refugee settlements and would send trucks from central Malawi to recruit workers among the refugees. Younger single men would be recruited as *ticketi* (monthly paid permanent labourers), whereas experienced farmers and married couples would be hired as tenants. The sudden availability of thousands of landless labourers stranded in refugee settlements must have contributed to depressing wage levels. The contractual



regimes varied considerably between and within categories of workers. Most of the refugees were hired as tenants or as wage workers, but at least one respondent in the sample became a foreman on a tobacco estate. In a few cases workers were given small plots to grow their own maize. Otherwise, the pay of permanent workers was discounted according to the food they bought from the estate.

Social differentiation was amplified during the war on the basis of these diverging labour trajectories, but also in the contrast between households that had wage labour experience and those that did not. Typically the elderly, female-headed and labour-scarce households were more likely to be excluded from tobacco recruitment. Exploitative as the working conditions were in the tobacco estates, they were not equally exploitative for all. Tenants did marginally better than workers and depending on the remittance obligations and structure of the family, some of the respondents managed to save and to remit to their families. Furthermore, in some cases tobacco wages contributed to create a fund that was transferred to Mozambique at the end of the war and that allowed some to engage in tobacco there. Chapter VI will expand on the way these arrangements influenced the formation of labour relations in Angónia during the post-war period.

Finally, Mozambican migration to Malawi was not new. Mozambicans, mostly from the bordering districts of Zambézia, had been going to Malawi looking for jobs in the tea and sugar estates of southern Malawi since the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. Contrasting colonial and wartime labour experiences in Malawi is conceptually useful. Mozambican workers were not filling the positions left behind by Malawians going to Rhodesia and the Transvaal. Chirwa has persuasively rejected the thesis that Malawi experienced a chronic labour shortage. Mozambican migrants were functional to Malawian estates because they came from areas with not many alternative sources of income generation other than spells of migratory labour. Their structural position allowed estates to keep wages depressed, secure labour availability during work peaks and discipline the local labour force (1994, also Dzimhiri 1993). Here it is argued that during the civil war, like in the colonial period, the Malawian employers' actively sought landless Mozambican refugees. In this case, spatial relations are a dimension of

surplus extraction and displacement is at the origin of landlessness and is therefore the foundation of proletarianization. In the process, refugees-cum-workers became ever more dependent on market engagements for subsistence.

For the majority of the refugee households that depended on wage employment, the period reinforced older dynamics such as their incorporation as dislocated labourers coming from spaces defined by the relative lack of local employment and markets for produce. The coexistence of forced displacement and wage employment is not a coincidence: displacement defined the terms on which refugees became integrated into the labour force as well as their position and function in the reproduction of agricultural capital in Malawi.

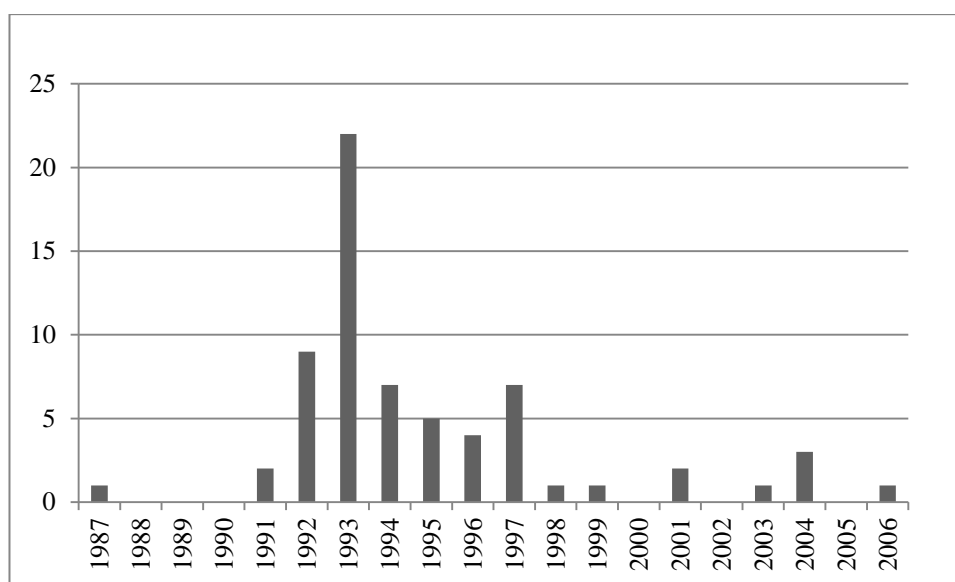
### 5.5.3. Protracted return to Angónia

The peace negotiations and the signing of the General Peace Accord in 1992 marked the end of the war in Angónia. A significant proportion of the respondents returned to Mozambique between 1992 and 1993. The humanitarian effort was reconditioned to support the returnees and Angónia was prioritized for demining. Most of the returnees re-entered Mozambique spontaneously. What followed was a period of reopening the fields left behind. The presumption in the literature on post-conflict land restitution that the return to such a densely populated district would entail the emergence of countless conflicts around land ownership and delimitations did not materialize (Myers et al. 1994, Blom 2002). But reopening fields was a labour-consuming and time-sensitive activity. Returning with savings to hire *ganyu* made a difference to how fast households could be producing again.

The differentiated pace at which land could be reincorporated and how much labour could be mobilized into production was an immediate and influential consequence of social differentiation. Some of the respondents in the sample were in a position to hire in labour from the outset, whereas others hired out to their neighbours. As Graph 5.9 shows, an important percentage of the respondents stayed in Malawi several years after the end of the war. During the interviews reasons adduced for delaying the return ranged from being sceptical that the peace would hold, to having reached a good position in the tobacco

estates and thinking that returning to own account agriculture would not compensate for lost wages. Respondents refer to family members and friends that ended up staying in Malawi, but the respondents that returned the latest also described very vividly that liberalization of tobacco and the economic crisis in Malawi gradually made the idea of returning to Mozambique more attractive. For some, the adoption of tobacco in Mozambique was the defining factor in enticing them to return. Of the 26 respondents that knew both the year in which they left Angónia and the year they returned, the average duration of the stay in Malawi was 9.7 years. The minimum was 5 years and the maximum stay was 19 years.

Graph 5.7 Year in which respondents returned to Angónia



(Source: STFA)

## 5.5. Conclusion

This chapter has explored the way in which advanced social differentiation and market dependence that existed at the end of the colonial period pose a challenge to the existing literature on the impact of the socialist project and the civil war in the district of Angónia. Furthermore, by documenting and analysing the hitherto unexplored extent of the engagement of Mozambican refugees in Malawian labour markets during the war, it argues for a complete overhaul of the categories used in accounting for the social impact - in Mozambique and Malawi

– of massive displacement while also challenging the validity of conceptual frameworks that neglect the role of the historical pressure towards proletarianization, drawing on the work of O’Laughlin (1996, 2002).

Chapter IV reconstructed the political process that had been completed by the 1950s whereby a differentiated peasantry in hinterland Mozambique became articulated in capitalist relations of production through forced and long-distance migratory labour and the impact that this had on the logic of the reproduction of households as agricultural producers. This agrarian structure was subjected to substantial additional pressures after independence, first as an effect of a strategy for the socialization of the relations of production based on a policy misdiagnosis and then as consequence of the Mozambican civil war. The coupled effect of these two processes resulted in an attempt to push rural households to revert to subsistence agriculture. But these were households with varied and complex livelihood portfolios, which included cash cropping, food production and working for wages. Retreat to subsistence was no longer a viable option. The post-independence economic crisis cut commercialization networks, brought about a goods scarcity and translated into the loss of migratory jobs. Rural livelihoods were dealt a final blow by the violence of war. Households resisted these pressures en masse by ultimately fleeing to Malawi.

The Malawian decade was experienced differently by different social groups from rural Angónia. Affluent households had the means to rent land, owned productive assets that could be taken to Malawi, had connections there or found stable employment (Barnett et al. 2003). The experiences of the majority of the population that first settled in the border were different. Some gained access to land; some remained in the refugee settlements and complimented humanitarian hand-outs with income generation activities; an important proportion of the refugee population was forced into labour migration and became a wartime proletariat. Considering that the historical foundation of Angónia’s productive capacity was in its population’s commodified labour power, it is unsurprising that when the majority of the population fled to Malawi they participated intensely in wage employment.

From within the ranks of the tobacco labourers, different accumulation trajectories led to the amplification of social differentiation that is observable today among tobacco producers. Taken as a whole, the refugee population coming from Angónia experienced pressures that made them ever more dependent on market interactions (in the labour, food and land market) as well as differentiated. The experiences documented in the Malawian borderland contradict a tradition in the literature on southern Mozambique that argued that the effect of the war was that of flattening social differentiation. This school, best represented in the work of Hermele, claims that the experiences of war and displacement tragically levelled downwards the socio-economic differentiation of the population, adding that such differentiation was not great to begin with (1992, 172). While the tragic effect of war cannot be denied, the reconstruction of the social dynamics of war and agrarian change in the Malawian borderland point in the opposite direction.

The evidence presented and analysed in this chapter points to the need for a revision of the conceptual tools used in the effort to make sense of the impact of the war on the long-term dynamics of agrarian change. The chapter has deployed a historically informed approach that is sensitive to the implications of the process of uneven colonial proletarianization discussed in Chapter IV. Studying the decade of the civil war through this lens makes visible a different set of causal mechanisms explaining the political inclination of the population, resistance and forced migration. But the analysis also highlights how social differentiation mediated the impact and consequences of the socialization of the countryside, the war and the Malawian decade for different groups in Angónia. The following Chapter will show how wartime social differentiation determined different productive trajectories in the post-war adoption of tobacco in Angónia. Chapters VII and VIII will then zoom in on the emergence in the post-war period of more clearly defined and stable classes of labour and classes of capital in Angónia.

## **Chapter VI: Post-conflict agricultural reconstruction in Angónia**

In the years after the 1992 signing of the Rome Agreement, which put an end to the Mozambican civil war, Angónia experienced the confluence of two major historical processes: the return of around 300,000 refugees from Malawi - Mozambique's largest contingent of returnees - and agricultural liberalization, a marked turn in terms of agricultural sector policy and development strategy (Juergensen 1996, Pitcher 2002). These were trying times in the Highlands. UNHCR and ICRC's wartime humanitarian effort to sustain refugees gave way to an operation aimed at helping returnees rebuild their living space and reopen their fields. Tools, seeds and cattle had been lost; all buildings and structures had been destroyed either by wartime violence or simply by a decade of abandonment; access to cash and goods was limited and commercial outlets for agricultural commodities non-existent. Humanitarian agencies concentrated their efforts on the distribution of seeds, tools and the provision of food while farmers waited for their first post-war harvest. Clearing a field, for example, is one of the most labour-intensive activities in farming. Very early on the differential capacity to mobilize labour determined the amount of land that a household could incorporate into production. During the first years many of the respondents remained critically dependent on aid or continued to migrate to central Malawi in search of wage-employment.

Policy reforms that embraced agricultural liberalization and the privatization of state-farms had been progressively introduced after the policy turn of the fourth Frelimo Congress of 1983. But for the population of Angónia it was only after returning to Mozambique after the Rome Agreement that they took stock of the profound transformation of agricultural systems that had taken place in the country during the war. Before the exodus to Malawi, and during the socialist period, it had been parastatal agencies that had provided seed and marketing outlets; *lojas do povo* provided consumer goods and CAIA, the agro-industrial cluster with its 80,000 hectares, provided employment for over 4,000 workers. The functioning of all these systems had suffered from mismanagement and from the war, but it was at the behest of structural adjustment that they had finally been closed down in the late 1980s.

The discussions of the fourth Congress amounted to a first reversal of the ‘socialization of the countryside’ strategy. Frelimo vowed to devote more resources to family farming and to open up spaces for private actors in agricultural investment and commercialization. Geographic concessions granting monopsony rights to private agribusiness firms were set up as a replacement for the marketing board. It was in the context of these reforms that a few years after the return from Malawi multinational tobacco corporations (MNCs from now on) decided to begin operations in Mozambique. Entering Mozambique was a corporate strategy aimed at spreading their risk. The large multinational tobacco leaf buyers were looking for ways to reduce their exposure in the Malawian tobacco sector, which was in a turmoil brought by sector reform (Jaffe 2003). But the adoption of tobacco in Mozambique was also aided by the companies’ awareness that many among the returning refugees had worked in the Malawian tobacco sector where they had learned the ropes of growing and curing tobacco. Awareness of the returnees’ extensive experience in tobacco was a main motivation for the tobacco trading companies to consider Mozambique (Interview with company official, Angónia, September 2013).

This chapter traces the adoption and consolidation of tobacco as the main cash-earning activity in the district and the sustained expansion of contract farming as the predominant form of production. These are the defining features of the agrarian regime that emerged in post-conflict Angónia and this chapter will focus on explaining their drivers and effects.

Before, tobacco farmers in Angónia had never relied so unanimously and predominantly on one single cash-crop. Contract farming was, for many, the first time they hired workers, used chemical inputs and opened bank accounts. The timings and demands of the crop imposed changes on the way households formed and dissolved and on the organisation of their productive resources. The tobacco boom has transformed the patterns of consumption and accumulation both at the household and district levels. This sense of novelty notwithstanding, this study contends that the adoption of tobacco and the expansion of contract farming were firmly rooted in the colonial and wartime experiences of the farmers, first as labour migrants and, later, refugees. Furthermore, tobacco and

contract farming can also be understood as a response to pressures on agriculture introduced by structural adjustment and post-conflict agricultural rehabilitation.

This chapter builds on the arguments in Chapters IV and V about the formation of the agrarian regime to explore the current structure of production. As will be shown, studies of contract farming tend to disregard the importance of understanding the agrarian structures into which contract farming schemes have been introduced. Overlooking these historical processes compromises the capacity of contributors to this literature to understand the conditions in which such schemes thrive or decline and to assess their socio-economic impact.

This study differs from the large literature on contract farming in some important respects. First, it casts a long look at the history of the agrarian structure. The study of contract farming - as well as any other form of reorganization of production - cannot be divorced from an understanding of the social and historical conditions surrounding its adoption. The main contention here is that contract farming cannot be understood as a technical fix, as approaches from New Institutional Economics propose, but rather as a historically grounded process of transformation of social relations of production and attendant social, cultural and political changes.

Second, and as a logical consequence of the first point, this study of production under a contract is the first to look at such an arrangement in the context of post-conflict reconstruction and to highlight the spatial relations shaping contract farming and monopsony concessions in borderland settings. This reinforces the argument that the rise of contract farming in sub-Saharan Africa is linked to processes of neoliberal adjustment in agriculture taking place after the end of the Cold War (Oya 2012). For farmers in Angónia the adoption of tobacco under contract embodied the two underlying structural processes mentioned at the outset of the chapter - the post-conflict reconstruction of agricultural systems and agricultural liberalization.

Third, the literature on the political economy of contract farming has mainly focused on the relation between agribusiness and farmers (Little and Watts 1994). In contrast, there are only a few contributions to the study of labour relations between farmers and the agricultural workers they hire or examining



the conflicts inherent in these relations (as noted by Oya 2012, 20). Hired-in labour - local, migrant, seasonal and permanent – has been neglected by policy makers and academics working on Mozambique, as well as in the broader literature on contract farming.

Technical and agro-ecological conditions that played an important role in the expansion of tobacco farming under contract will be described below. However, it is claimed here that these were not the ultimate drivers of the agrarian transformation. Explanations relying on technical and agro-ecological arguments fail to explain why tobacco thrived in Tete and Niassa, but has been largely abandoned by farmers in Manica and to a lesser extent in Nampula and Zambézia. A political economy approach proves more insightful. This chapter will explore the relation between agribusiness (in the form of the tobacco company that buys, processes and exports tobacco leaf) and the farmers – a relation in the sphere of exchange, while Chapters VII, VIII and IX will examine the relations in the sphere of production - within the farming households and between farmers and hired labourers.

## **6.1 The adoption of tobacco under contract in Angónia**

### **6.1.1 Global dynamics of tobacco production and manufacturing**

Africa's share of the global tobacco trade has risen from 13 per cent of the total volume in 1989 to 20 per cent in 2011 (see Figure 6.1). This is explained by the global restructuring of the global tobacco market during the last three decades, driven by falling rates of tobacco consumption in the sector's traditional market, industrialized countries, and the rising demand in emerging economies. Asia and Africa are now the regions with the fastest expanding markets for tobacco while growing restrictions and changing consumer preferences in Europe and North America have reduced sales in those regions. Large multinational cigarette manufacturers have adapted their corporate strategies accordingly. The 1990s marked the turning point when MNCs' overseas profits surpassed their earnings in core markets (Ash 2010, Hammond 1998, Jaffe 2003). Chapter VI will expand on the way these arrangements influenced the formation of labour

relations in Angónia during the post-war period. Cigarette consumption in Africa is growing at 4.3 per cent per year, well above the global average (Ash 2010).

The transformation was further propelled by the wave of privatization and liberalization that first hit tobacco agriculture and cigarette manufacturing in the former Soviet countries, Central and Eastern Europe and then extended to Latin America and Africa. This allowed international capital in tobacco processing and manufacturing to acquire assets in a sector that hitherto had been dominated by state-owned enterprises. In most countries the move had a substantial effect on state finances, as taxes on tobacco and alcohol had been an important component of fiscal revenue (Shirley 1999). State losses contrasted with corporate gains. The winners were the tobacco multinationals that benefitted from the array of fiscal exemptions and trade facilities granted in the era of liberalization with the purpose of attracting foreign direct investment (Bolnick 2009).

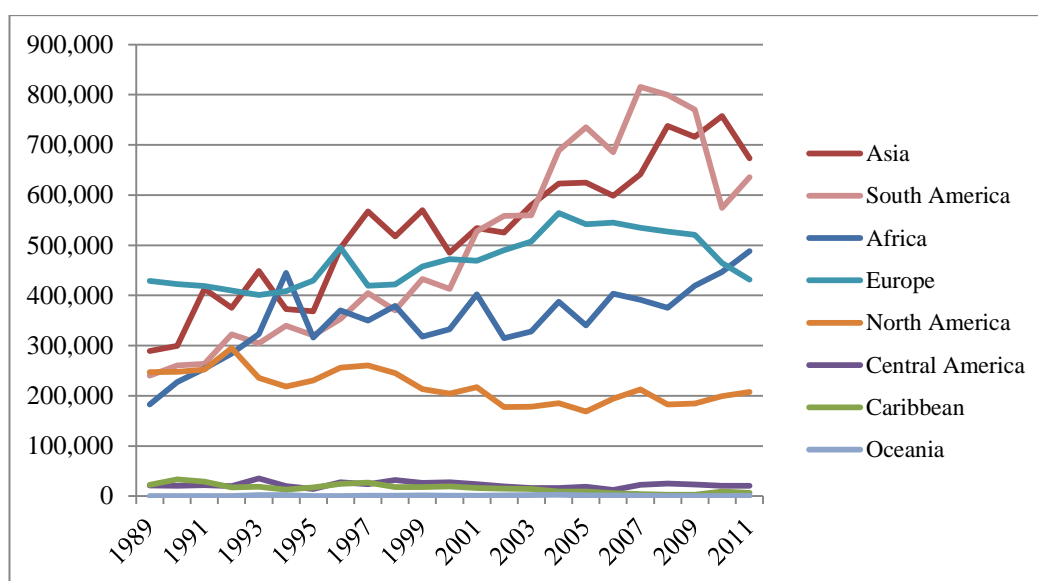
Agricultural liberalization led to the disintegration of parastatal agricultural finance and marketing mechanisms, leaving a void that was filled by multinational agribusiness capital with a different financing strategy. MNCs dominate the global tobacco market, via an oligopsony, and use their considerable structural power to stabilize supply. In the last decade large tobacco leaf buyers have been progressively evolving from buyers in spot-markets to financiers of the productive process. It has been observed that one benefit of contract farming is giving agribusiness the capacity to make supply markets more predictable and malleable (Reardon and Barrett 2000). The period of agricultural liberalization also coincides with a deterioration of global tobacco prices (Jaffe 2003). This transformed the role of merchant capital giving it more power to shape production. Large leaf tobacco trading companies use the capital placed in advance orders by their clients, the cigarette manufacturers, to finance the productive process, in some cases through contract farming schemes (Hammond 1998).

Together, this business model and the growing corporate concentration in tobacco trading result in a closely managed global market. By 2011 the three largest players (Phillip Morris Int., British American Tobacco and Japan Tobacco Int.) commanded 65.5 per cent of the total market for cigarettes

excluding China (Credit Suisse 2011). Meanwhile, the eight major global leaf buying companies underwent a period of mergers and acquisitions resulting in two U.S.-based large players (Alliance One International – the product of the merger of Dimon Inc. and Stancom - and Universal Corporation - the world’s leading leaf tobacco trader) dominating the global market for tobacco leaf (Poulton et al. 2007, Datamonitor 2011).

Tobacco agriculture can be highly mechanised in industrialized agricultural sectors, but remains one of the foremost labour-intensive crops in the developing world. Labour costs are the main component of producers’ costs (Benfica 2006, WB 2005). Significant variations in quality and wage rates explain the large discrepancy between international prices for Burley tobacco. In 2003 Malawian Burley sold at US\$ 1.15 per kg against US\$ 4.31 for Burley produced in the U.S.A. (FAO 2003).

Figure 6.1 Unmanufactured tobacco, export volume (tonnes)



Source: FAOStat 2013

### 6.1.2 Tobacco sectors in Southern Africa

Tobacco has been the main agricultural export for decades in Malawi and Zimbabwe and is important in a handful of other countries in the region. In 2012 Zimbabwe exported US\$ 472 million worth of un-manufactured tobacco. This is impressive but still a long way from the US\$ 630 million exported in 2001

before the Zimbabwean crisis set in. With US\$ 559 million in export revenue in 2010, tobacco represents 56.3 per cent of Malawi's exports, down from a 2002 peak when tobacco represented 68 per cent of Malawian exports. In contrast Mozambique earned US\$ 249 million from tobacco exports in 2012. Tobacco is Mozambique's largest agricultural export, but its contribution to total exports is dwarfed by exports of aluminium and electricity. The share of exports is similar in Zambia, with copper exports dominating but tobacco exports growing in comparison to sugar and cotton exports and to a lesser extent in Tanzania where there is a more varied productive structure (UN Comtrade) (See Table 6.1 and Figure 6.2 -6.4).

The specialization of the agriculture sector on tobacco and other non-perishable goods with high value-to-bulk ratio in countries like Malawi and Zimbabwe is related to the higher transport costs and time faced by landlocked countries in sub-Saharan Africa (Limão and Venables 2001, Freund and Rocha 2010). In some of these countries, despite higher inputs and labour costs, tobacco is the most profitable cash-crop per hectare available to farmers (FAO 2003).

Table 6.1 Tobacco indicators

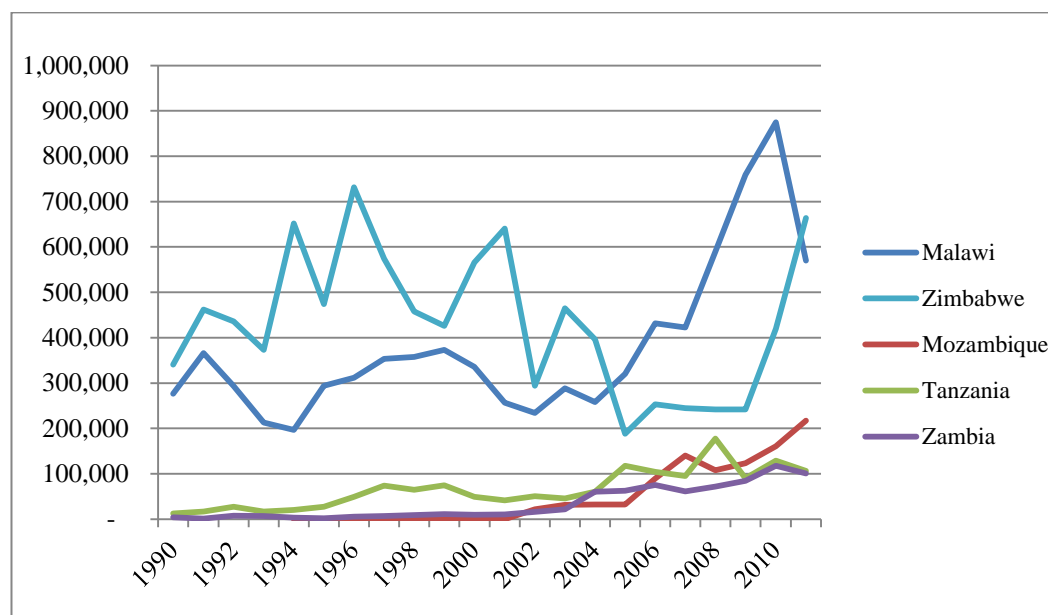
	<i>Volume of Production in 2011 (Mt)<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>Value of exports in 2011 (1000 USD)<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>Tobacco as percentage of GDP in 2011<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>Tobacco as percentage of total exports in 2011<sup>b</sup></i>
Malawi	174,928	570,321	10.15	34.29
Mozambique	70,000	216,945	1.73	5.87
Tanzania	130,000	106,585	0.45	1.44
Zambia	60,329	100,778	0.52	1.14
Zimbabwe	111,570	663,596	6.87	7.50

<sup>a</sup> FAOStat 2013; <sup>b</sup> The author's calculation based on WDI 2013.

From a state policy perspective there is no regional coordination around tobacco. Countries in the region have different agrarian structures and different institutional arrangements for the production and trade of tobacco (See Table 6.2). For instance, whereas in Malawi the estate sector has had a prominent political role and the majority of the farming population has direct or indirect links to tobacco (Jaffe 2003, Prowse 2013), in Mozambique tobacco agriculture

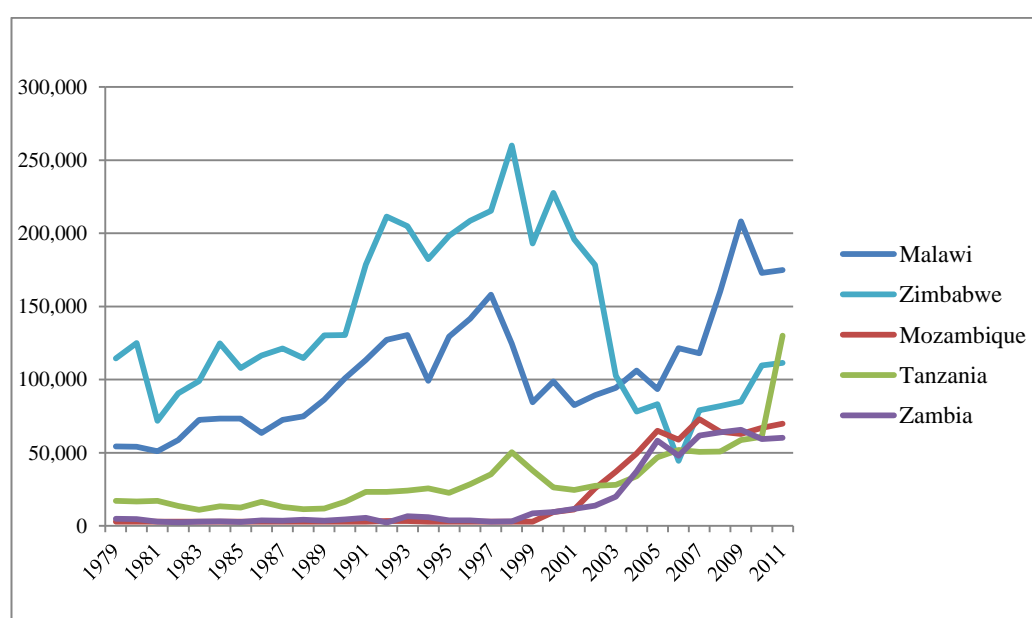
is spatially concentrated, there is no estate sector and the interests of tobacco farmers are not politically represented in Maputo.

Figure 6.2 Tobacco Value of Exports 1990-2011 (1000 US\$)



Source: FAOStat 2013

Figure 6.3 Unmanufactured Tobacco Production 1979-2011 (tonnes)



Source: FAOStat 2013

However, from an agrarian perspective there have been important interrelations among the tobacco sectors in Southern Africa. For example, when the Mozambican civil war displaced millions of refugees to neighbouring countries in the late 1980s, this resulted in the transformation of agricultural labour markets in the tobacco sector in Malawi (Chapter V) as well as sugar estates along the Zimbabwean borderland (Sachikonye 1989) and in South Africa (Sender 2002, Cramer 2006). The crisis in the Zimbabwean tobacco sector provides another example of these linkages. Tobacco production in Zimbabwe was dominated by a white-owned estate sector that was hit hard by the economic crisis and the evictions of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme during the early 2000s. The World Bank has linked the crisis in Zimbabwe with the leaf traders' decision to set-up operations in Zambia and Mozambique and with the exodus of white Zimbabwean tobacco farmers who settled in both countries (WB 2005, Hammar 2010, Mustapha 2010).

Table 6.4 Tobacco sectors: institutional arrangements

	<i>Type of tobacco grown</i> <sup>4</sup>	<i>Trading regime</i>	<i>Main buyers</i> <sup>5</sup>	<i>Sector institutions</i>
Malawi	Burley	Auction (some through contract farming)	Alliance One, Universal Corp. (90%)	Agricultural Development and Marketing Corporation – ADMARC; Malawi Leaf (trader); Malawi Rural Finance Company; Tobacco Commission of Malawi
Mozambique	Burley	Contract Farming	Universal Corp.	-
Tanzania	Virginia	Contract Farming	Alliance One, Universal Corp., Premium Active	Tanzania Tobacco Council (multi stakeholder, sets prices, oversees contracts)
Zambia	Virginia 55%, Burley 45%	Selling Floors	Alliance One/ Universal Corp.	Tobacco Association of Zambia
Zimbabwe	Virginia	Auction 50%/ Contract farming 50%	23 different registered traders	Tobacco Industry marketing Board

Source: Author with data from (Jaffe 2003, Drum 2011).

<sup>4</sup> The different types of tobacco and introduced and described in the annexes.

<sup>5</sup> Here the names of the parent corporations are used, but local subsidiaries have different names. Only the main buyers are included.

The most salient commonality in the region is the market domination of the two large multinational tobacco-trading companies Universal Corporation and Alliance One International. MNCs can play the variety of regulatory frameworks in the region against each other and spread the risk. Their knowledge of the conditions of the harvest, supply and prices in the region far surpasses that of any single country. Furthermore, tobacco exports are lightly taxed in the region and agricultural traders receive generous fiscal exemptions. Tobacco is included in trade agreements with the European Union and the United States. In the absence of mechanisms forcing the companies to transfer the premium they capture via the preferential access, it is these global corporates, not the agricultural sectors of tobacco producing countries, which benefit. Tobacco is eligible for trade facilities under the Cotonou Agreement, Everything But Arms - EBA - and African Growth and Opportunity Act -AGOA- (Drum Commodities 2012). Given the tax and tariff regime, tobacco exports do not represent an important source of foreign exchange for Mozambique despite being the largest agricultural export by value. The argument for contract farming as a source of foreign exchange for sub-Saharan African countries (Kirsten and Sartorius 2002, Minot 2007) is not valid in the case of tobacco. On the contrary, tobacco seems to reinforce the extractive character of most of foreign direct investment into Mozambique (Pérez-Niño 2014b).

#### 6.1.3 Antecedents of tobacco production in Mozambique

Tobacco was cultivated in Mozambique on a small scale for domestic consumption during the early colonial period. It progressively became commodified as a source of cash income to pay the *mussoco*, the colonial tax. During the 1920s Portuguese settlers who had been granted land in Nampula started growing Dark and Virginia tobacco commercially. The regions of Ribaue and Malema became the epicentre of tobacco agriculture in Mozambique. To protect the settlers' interests, the colonial state banned African farmers from commercial networks of tobacco. On the one hand, this weeded out potential competition while, on the other hand, it secured a supply of labour to the Portuguese estates. Furthermore, *chibalo* - forced labour - was mobilised on behalf of the tobacco growers. By 1948 most of the forced labour recruited in the

region was sent to work on tobacco plantations (Navohola 2010, Isaacman 1978, 1992).

After independence the tobacco farms were nationalized. A single state farm in Malema, Nampula Tobacco, enclosed 37,469 ha (West 1996). However the state-led tobacco sector never fully took off. Soon coordination problems became overwhelming and coincided with the onset of the civil war. By 1985, with production collapsing, it was decided that state farms would be privatized. Tobacco agriculture in Malema was resumed only after the end of the war. However in the late 1990s the epicentre of tobacco production shifted to newly producing districts in Tete and Niassa granted under concession to the largest global tobacco trader, Universal Corporation.

#### 6.1.4 The institutional arrangements governing tobacco in the post-conflict period

Liberalization and privatization swept through Mozambique in the years preceding the end of the war. Parastatal inputs providers and marketing boards were downsized and dissolved across the board. In districts with high rates of forced displacement like Angónia, where agriculture was fully disrupted, it was during the post-war period that the consequences of the retreat of the state from intervention in agricultural production were felt in full. Chapter V argued that the disruption of markets and agricultural services had as damaging an effect on commercial agriculture as the direct impact of war. The Mozambican state devised a series of agricultural reforms aimed at restoring agricultural production. The rehabilitation of the cotton sector was the model followed in the later creation of the tobacco sector. Cotton had been the main cash crop in vast areas of central and northern Mozambique during the colonial period. Unlike other crops, cotton agriculture was highly dependent on the timely and coordinated mobilization of seed, fertilizer and pesticides.

State provision of inputs had been discontinued but private input suppliers and intermediaries with markets were undeveloped and undercapitalised. To unblock agricultural production it was deemed necessary to offer incentives for the provision of credit and inputs in such a way as to also protect potential investors



from the high risk of default by farmers. In Mozambique as in many other countries in the region the solution put forward was the interlocking of inputs and output markets, i.e., having the buyers and processors advance the inputs to the producers and using the future harvested output as collateral and securing repayment of the debt against the purchase of the produce (Poulton et al. 2004). A particularity of the Mozambican case was the widespread combination of interlocking markets in contract farming schemes. Contract farming is a form of production midway between spot-markets and fully vertical coordination of production where direct growers are bound by a contractual arrangement with export and processing agribusiness to produce a specified volume of product according to certain quality standards (Little and Watts 1994, Grosh 1994). In Mozambique the combination of interlocking markets and contract farming became the predominant form of production in cotton and in tobacco (UNCTAD 2009).

There is considerable overlap between interlocking markets and contract farming, but the difference is important as not all forms of interlocking markets are bound by contract and not every contract farming scheme includes the provision of working capital by buyers. Many authors distinguish between marketing and/or production contracts, in which no inputs or credit are provided by the contractor, and 'resource-providing contracts' (Kirsten and Sartorius 2001, Bijman 2008). For example, the sugar and tea schemes described by Sachikonye (1989) in Manicaland and the Masvingo are examples of contract farming with estates with no credit component by the contractor. The Gambian contract farming rice scheme described by Carney (1988) included the credit mechanism but not the marketing service. In contrast, in Southeast Asia, contracts mediated by commercial intermediaries are the norm (Eaton and Shepard 2001, Porter and Phillips-Howard 1997).

The creation of tobacco concessions and the arrival of tobacco multinationals also loosely coincided with the period in which the Mozambican Land Law was being drafted. The Law, which epitomizes the staunch resistance of factions within the Mozambican state to the privatization of land rights, probably contributed to the adoption of forms of agricultural investment such as contract

farming schemes, which were more politically palatable for opponents of the estate and plantation model (O’Laughlin 1996, Hanlon 2004).

Although evidence for the dominance of contract farming in sub-Saharan Africa is disputed, there is consensus that contract farming is the dominant regime for organizing the production of traded agricultural commodities in some countries in the region (Oya 2012). In Mozambique all tobacco and all cotton are produced under contract. It has been estimated that 400,000 households produced under contract in 2003, roughly 12 per cent of the rural population at the time and 16 per cent of the farms (IFAD 2003, WB 2005).

Interlocking markets require strong enforcement mechanisms to prevent side selling, that is, to ensure that producers sell to the trading agent that advanced the inputs, rather than to opportunistic buyers. Opportunistic buyers are in a position to offer better prices for the harvest, as they do not need to recoup the cost of inputs. This leads to high expected rates of default among producers (Grosh 1994).

In Mozambique side selling was prevented with the creation of regional concessions in which only one operator was authorized to provide credit and buy produce. The model was created for cotton in the late 1990s and extended to tobacco in 2001 with the promulgation that year of the Tobacco Regulation (Pitcher 1996, Wuyts 2001, MINAGRI 2001, Regulamento do Tabaco, Decree 1761 of 2001, MINAGRI). By then, tobacco leaf trading companies had been introducing tobacco in the provinces of Nampula, Niassa, Tete, Manica and Zambézia and were about to start exporting in earnest. Three large multinationals were granted tobacco concessions in Mozambique: Dimon Inc., Standard Commercial Company (Stancom) and Universal Tobacco (Mozambique Leaf Tobacco – MLT- is the local subsidiary). Smaller agribusiness companies also operated concessions in joint ventures: Companhia Agrícola João Ferreira dos Santos (JFS, S.A.), Mosagrius (a joint venture between the Mozambican state and the South African Chamber of Agricultural Development in Africa) and Sociedade de Niassa Ltda (SONIL). By the time tobacco exports took off around the year 2000, some 120,000 farmers were

growing tobacco in 8 of the 11 provinces of Mozambique for one of the 8 concessionaries (See Table 6.5).

Table 6.5 Tobacco concessions in 2005

<i>Province</i>	<i>Districts</i>	<i>Companies</i>	<i>Number of producers</i>
Niassa	Lichinga, Sanga, Mavago, Muembe, Majune, Mandimba, Cuamba, Mechanhelas, Maua, Metarica, Marrupa, Nipepe, Lago, N'gauma	JFS Group Stancom (JVC with Mosagrius)	27,303 7,510
Cabo Delgado		JFS Group	2,050
Nampula	Malema (+ part of Iapala)	Stancom (JVC with SONIL)	8,000
	Ribáue and Laláua	JFS Group	12,000
Tete	Macanga, Angónia, Tsangano, Moatize, Chiúta, Marávia	MLT	39,000
	Chifunde, Cahora Bassa, Changara, and Zumbo	DIMON	4,464
Manica	Manica, Bárue, Chimoio, Espungabera and Guro	MLT STANCOM DIMON JFS Group	9,000
Sofala	Gorongosa, Búzi, Nhamatanda, Maringue	DIMON	791
Gaza	Chókwe	JFS Group	22
Total			128,796

Source: WB 2005, Benfica 2006.

The commitment of the farmers to produce tobacco and repay the inputs advanced is formalized in individual farming contracts that spell out the conditions for growing, curing and purchasing tobacco. In Angónia, contracts are signed at the beginning of the agricultural season when farmers receive the fertilizer. Throughout the season they update a logbook that registers all the inputs received from the company. After harvesting and curing, the leaf is tied in bundles and transported to the tobacco press in the village to be arranged in bales. Every bale has a label with codes that identify the producer of the bale until it reaches the tobacco processing factory in Tete. The bales are transported by company trucks to the commercialization floors where the classifiers and

auditors verify the condition of the leaves, classify and weigh it. Farmers are paid according to the quality of their leaf. The cost of inputs is deducted from the final payment.

In summary, the institutional arrangement for managing the tobacco sector in Mozambique comprises three elements: interlocking markets for inputs and output, farming contracts as the framework for production, and geographic monopsony concessions as the overarching legal structure. These initial conditions shaped the political economy of tobacco in Mozambique. The coalition dominating the government at the time was eager to accommodate foreign investors such as the tobacco MNCs. Moreover in the dominant political discourse it was expected that FDI would become the main driver of reconstruction and development (Hanlon 2004). This same discourse gave rise to the emergence of mega-projects during the post-conflict decade (Castel-Branco 2010).

After the first few years the Mozambican tobacco sector became the site of corporate struggles. In order to export raw tobacco overseas, leaves have to be threshed. The lamina is separated from the stem and the humidity level is stabilized to prepare the leaf for storage. Mozambique had no threshing facility, so Mozambican leaf was shipped for processing to Malawi and Zimbabwe and then re-exported via Mozambican ports, a process that raised the traders' transport costs and was impractical (Benfica et al. 2004). By the early 2000s MNCs started to consider setting up processing plants in Mozambique. Because of the high cost of this investment it was imperative to guarantee that the future plants would operate at full capacity. If tobacco were purchased in an open market, the companies would have had to out-compete other buyers via prices to producers to get hold of enough tobacco for processing in the plant. However, in a closed system of concessions the only way of securing additional raw material was for the potential investor either to pressure other buyers into using their processing facility or to apply for new concessions. However, capturing a 'developed' concession was less costly than 'developing' one from scratch.

The way in which the process unfolded is relevant for this analysis. In early 2003 MLT opened a tender for the construction of a threshing plant with

capacity to process 50,000 tonnes of tobacco per year in the city of Tete, along the corridor that links central and south Malawi to the Mozambican port of Beira (Abeno n.d.). By 2004 an internal document in the Ministry of Agriculture advocated for the introduction of a 20 per cent tax on exports of unprocessed tobacco, citing as justification that this would create a disincentive for traders to continue exporting unprocessed leaf. By forcing traders to invest in setting up processing capacity Mozambique would add value to its exports and would create jobs in agro-processing (Benfica et al. 2004, WB 2005). A diplomatic cable of that same year finds the Mozambican Ministry of Trade and Industry asking their U.S. counterparts to allocate part of the tariff rate quota for tobacco to the processed leaf that Mozambique would soon be producing (Maputo Embassy 2004). In 2005 a group of consultants in the Ministry of Agriculture published a policy briefing observing that since there was only one firm building a processing plant in Mozambique, such a tariff would benefit one firm to the detriment of all others (Benfica et al. 2004) and that, therefore, it was unjustified. In the end, the export tariff proposal did not prosper.

Universal Corporation inaugurated the US \$55 million plant in 2006 in Tete city. It is the second largest tobacco processing plant in Africa. The plant has benefited from an array of fiscal incentives granted to investors in Mozambique under the 2002 investment code. Mozambique Leaf Tobacco is one of the few firms in the list of largest companies by revenue in Mozambique to be consistently reported with income before taxes equivalent to its net profits. The tobacco sector makes no fiscal contribution to state revenue other than Personal Income Taxes paid by the companies' 5,937 seasonal and permanent direct employees. MLT ranked 9th in the list in 2011 and is the largest company in the agricultural sector (KPMG 2010, 2011). The Mozambican state fails to tax the tobacco trader and therefore to socialize the benefits of the tobacco boom.

In 2005 the provincial government of Tete announced that the regional concession of Chifunde, the largest operated by Dimon Inc. at the time, was to be reallocated to MLT, prompting suspicions of collusion. This move led Dimon - by then merged with Stancom into Alliance One International - to close its Mozambican operations. Alliance One abandoned Mozambique, leaving MLT as the single large trader in operation (Savana, 2010). The move did not hurt output

volume. MLT simply took over Alliance's concessions and output has risen since. At the time, observers qualified this move as a reward to MLT for its investment in the processing plant (AIM 2006).

In 2007 the Minister of Agriculture, and former Governor of Tete, was quietly dismissed without explanation. However, in 2010 the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), in charge of investigating cases of corruption by U.S. companies overseas, filed a complaint against Universal Corporation. SEC claimed that over the 2004-2007 period MLT, the Mozambican subsidiary, made a series of unlawful payments totalling US\$ 165,000 to officials in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Government of the Province of Tete. It was alleged that the payments were intended to promote the export tax on raw tobacco and the reallocation of the Chifunde concession to MLT (SEC 2010a, 2010b, Savana 2010). Universal Corporation agreed to pay a US\$ 9.9 million fine in order to avoid the legal process. Wrongdoing by the company and officials was not investigated or prosecuted in Mozambique.

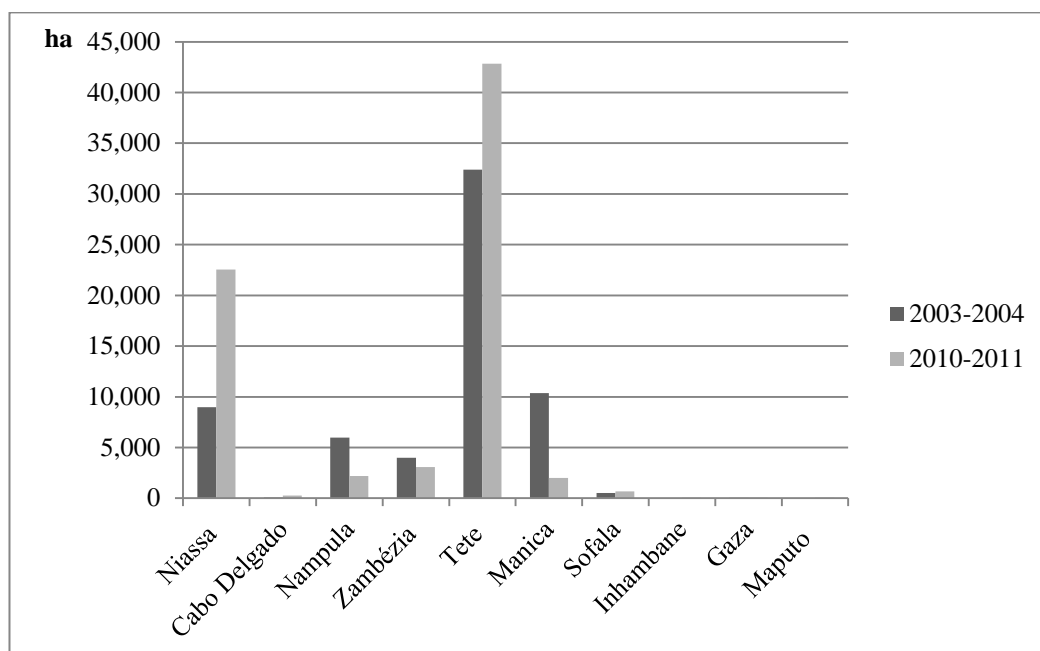
Thus, MLT captured the concessions left behind by Alliance One and secured optimal volumes of raw material for its new processing plant. By the late 2000s all but one other player had left Mozambique. What changed in the mid-2000s - and became a feature of the Mozambican tobacco sector - was that a nation-wide monopsony emerged giving uncontested control over Mozambican tobacco farming to the world's largest tobacco trader, Universal Corporation. This makes Mozambique different from every other tobacco-producing country in Southern Africa.

#### 6.1.5 Sector growth and geographic concentration

During the first two decades of expansion of tobacco, national output grew steadily from the 3,000 tonnes per year of the 1900s to a 2007 peak of 73,000 tonnes. But at the same time the number of concession operators went from 8 to 2 (MLT and only marginally JFS). Tobacco agriculture, which had been more evenly distributed in different provinces of central and northern Mozambique, became concentrated in Tete and Niassa. Together these two provinces

accounted for 66 per cent of the land cultivated in tobacco in 2003 but by 2011 this had grown to 89 percent, as shown in Figure 6.6.

Figure 6.6 Tobacco: area under cultivation by province (ha)



Sources: (Benfica et al. 2005) for 2003-2004, (INE 2010) for 2010-2011

The productive trajectory of tobacco in Manica province illustrates important differences in the agrarian structure that have been relatively neglected by the literature on rural development in Mozambique. By 2004 Manica was the third largest producing province in Mozambique with 10,359 ha cultivated, but in the space of a few years the area fell to a mere 2,012 ha. The literature on Manica has overemphasised the difficulties of adaptation of a group of some 50 white Zimbabwean tobacco farmers that settled in the province in the early 2000s. Although they were the largest tobacco producers in the country and were at the centre of rapid agricultural expansion until 2004, by 2006 they were indebted and most had gone bankrupt. Unrealistic production goals and lack of the state support of the kind they used to receive in Zimbabwe have been cited as the main causes for their failure (Smart and Hanlon 2008, Hammar 2010). But the arguments put forward do not explain the similar abandonment of tobacco by as many as 9,000 Mozambican farmers in the province over the same period. Furthermore, the conditions of farmers in tobacco-growing regions of Manica

were not dissimilar to those of tobacco farmers in Tete and Niassa, where tobacco prospered.

The marked divergence in the trajectory of these provinces has a more convincing, structural explanation. Farmers in the central districts of Manica are integrated in an array of market networks trading in the large urban markets of Chimoio and Beira. These farmers find outlets for different cash crops, both in and out of contract relations. In Manica there is more competition between sectors for agricultural labour, which is likely to tighten the labour market and push for higher agricultural wages. Under the institutional arrangement in place for tobacco in Mozambique, the viability of producers is critically dependent on their capacity to control their labour costs. The main difference between farmers from Manica and farmers in Tete and Niassa is spatially constructed: the latter experience the constraints of producing in a hinterland with poor transport infrastructure, less developed intermediary services and fewer alternative sources of finance.

In the face of fewer options, farmers in the hinterland may be willing to grow tobacco in spite of lower margins because the pressure can be in part shifted onto the labour force. In the relative absence of other large sectors competing for agricultural labour, it is likely that wages can be depressed in Tete and Niassa in a fashion that would be unviable in Manica.

In this, Manica is far from an isolated example: agribusiness commonly relocates to economically isolated regions to engage with farmers with less bargaining power (Massey 1995). Cases of such relocation have been reported by Williams and Karen (1985 cited in Watts 1994) in vegetable outgrower schemes in peri-urban areas of Kenya and in dairy contract farming schemes run by Nestlé in the proximity of urban markets in Mexico (Clapp 1988). In both cases the proximity to the market and the availability of other buyers led to side selling or to a high rate of farmer turnover. In response, the companies decided to relocate production to more isolated regions in which commodity markets were less developed, forcing growers to accept less favourable conditions. This was the case in borderland districts such as Angónia during the expansion of tobacco agriculture.



This section has described the chronology of the introduction and expansion of tobacco agriculture and of contract farming in Mozambique. As the district with the largest tobacco output and the largest number of contract farmers, Angónia is at the very centre of this story. The following section engages with debates about the drivers of the expansion of different forms of contract farming in sub-Saharan Africa and examines their applicability to the case of Angónia.

## **6.2 Drivers of tobacco contract farming adoption in Angónia**

There are three structural drivers of the expansion of contract farming in Mozambique: the agricultural liberalization and its impact on upstream provision and downstream trading; the preference by the Mozambican state and international development agencies at the time for a model of rural development based on smallholder farming; and then the process of social differentiation among producers in the region, which made a labour force available in conditions that were favourable for contract farming. Wilson for example claimed that contract farming works well in areas in which farmers are undercapitalized. Financial dependence gives Agribusiness considerable power over farmers (1986).

In the first case, liberalization led to a reconfiguration of the power balance between agribusiness, the state and the farmers that included international tobacco traders obtaining generous conditions for their operation and farmers being deprived of alternatives in agriculture. The regime that emerged was far from liberal. The state created concessions in which competition was suppressed on behalf of agribusiness capital and to the detriment of farmers who entered the arrangement with no space to bargain for better prices.

Farmers were attracted into signing farming contracts despite heightened risks and power asymmetries because this was their only chance of engaging in high value export agriculture and because they could boost their final earnings by squeezing an underclass of migrant and casual labourers. From a longer perspective on the history of labour in Angónia, contract farming reversed the war-time proletarianization of the new tobacco farmers but advanced the

commodification of labour relations as these farmers became hirers of casual and seasonal labour.

#### 6.2.1 Geopolitical, technical and agro-ecological drivers

The technical approach is a widely used conceptual framework for understanding institutional arrangements in agricultural production. It postulates that there are features pertaining to the type of commodities produced that influence the form in which production is organized (Minot 2007, Prowse 2012). Tobacco grows at different latitudes, and there is no location specific advantage for tropical producers. Since it is a crop that demands considerable manual labour in its production, tobacco from less developed agricultural sectors can compete with mechanized agricultural sector in global markets on the basis of lower wage levels (Poulton et al. 2007, FAO 2003).

The durability of threshed tobacco allows the product to sustain long transport and storage times. The technical approach claims that non-perishable crops are better suited to southern African logistics networks, burdened by poor infrastructure. Furthermore, the comparatively higher value per bulk allows tobacco exporters to operate profitably despite long distances to the ports (Minot 2007, Poulton 2007). Agricultural districts in Tete and Niassa have the longest distances to port and both have specialized in tobacco, one of the few crops for which their hinterland location does not put them at a disadvantage compared to other agricultural districts in Mozambique.

The NCE literature proposes that smallholder agriculture has advantages in production of labour intensive crops that require more careful labour monitoring and have more stringent quality standards (Kirsten and Sartorius 2001). It also argues that contract farming is a functional arrangement for non-mechanized crops, because it shifts the costs of labour management and supervision onto direct producers. Conventional conceptions about the commonality of economic interests within the household are used to explain the purported advantage that small farms have in monitoring labour in comparison with plantations and estates (For a critique of this, Dolan 2005, Sender and Johnston 2004).

The critical literature on agricultural contracting underlines the overly deterministic nature of these commodity-based approaches. The material conditions of crop production do shape productive arrangements, but labour relations and property distribution in longer historical and political processes are crucial for understanding contract farming (Little and Watts 1994, Sachikonye 1989).

‘Commodity determinism’ can therefore be critically questioned on conceptual and empirical grounds. Oya (2012) cites the array of crops and contractual arrangements in which contract farming is used as evidence of the lack of commodity-specific necessity for contract farming (See also Wilson 1986, Watts 1994). In the case of Angónia, hefty labour monitoring requirements could indeed have been a driver of the adoption of contract farming, assuming that households face fewer restrictions to exploit family and hired-in labour in comparison to plantations and estates. However, such a calculation involves a counterfactual; a false dilemma with no historical grounding. First, the evolution of the land tenure structure in Angónia did not lead to the creation of an estate sector as an alternative. Second, tobacco has been successfully farmed in large estates elsewhere in Southern Africa. Tobacco is produced fully in contract farming schemes in Kenya and Mozambique but predominantly in estates in Zimbabwe and pre-liberalization Malawi (Poulton 2007).

The presumption that agricultural regions distant from ports can commercially produce and export tobacco agriculture only proves that Tete and Niassa were not at a disadvantage in tobacco production vis-à-vis other provinces, but it fails to explain why these and not the other provinces specialised in tobacco. Here it is argued that it is the high labour demand of tobacco, the non-existence of an estate sector, compounded by the remote location of these districts, the ensuing difficulty to compete in the production of other more time-sensitive commodities and the resulting lower intersectoral competition for labour that allows for lower labour costs (intrinsic wages in the case of direct producers and actual wages for hired-in labour) on which the sector is critically dependent.

### 6.2.2 From refugee labourers to tobacco farmers

The adoption of tobacco during the post-conflict reconstruction of agricultural production in Angónia had two important effects on the returning population. It transformed former refugee migrant labourers into farmers who hired workers. This section explores this transformation from the perspective of the relation between agribusiness capital and the new tobacco farmers, while the following section explores this same transformation, but in terms of the relation between farmers and the hired-in labour force.

As discussed in previous chapters, farmers in Angónia had been through a long history of labour migration. On their return to Angónia the wages obtained in the spells of work abroad in the colonial period and during the civil war had provided households with seed capital to pay for the clearing of land, to buy tools and acquire household necessities. Social reproduction in Angónia had long depended on farmers' interactions with markets for food, produce, inputs and labour. In the post-war period, with the abolition of state and communal farms and with trading networks still disrupted, signing contracts for tobacco was the most straightforward continuation of forms of cash crop production that were deeply embedded in market interactions both *before* and *during* the war.

Angónia has experienced important transformations in the two decades following the introduction of tobacco and contract farming. A number of local agricultural markets were created and became integrated with the trade network linking to the main urban centres of central Mozambique. During this period Angónia recovered its centrality as an upstream provider of food and fodder. Despite developments in the markets for cereals and vegetables, no trading network provides credit and inputs as widely as the tobacco contract farming scheme. For almost two decades now tobacco has been the most profitable crop in a district with few cash crop alternatives.

The transition from refugee migrant labourers to tobacco farmers straddled the international border. But other similar experiences in the region help conceptualize its significance. In a study of satellite sugarcane outgrowers in the Zimbabwean Masvingo, Sachikonye (1989) noted that the majority of the farmers were former employees of the sugar estate running the contract farming

scheme. Sachikonye's analysis of labour relations demonstrates that the creation of the outgrower scheme entailed a redefinition of the relations of production between agribusiness capital and its former employees. In the Zimbabwean case, the expansion of contract farming was a corporate strategy to prevent the collective mobilization of estate workers and a means to undermine their union's bargaining power. In the case of Angónia, contract farming was the only way to reintegrate the refugee labour force lost to Malawi back into tobacco production. The farmers' re-integration with tobacco was less purposive than in the Zimbabwean case, but a no less consequential transition from hired-in labourers in the Malawian estate sector, to farmers under direct contract with agribusiness capital.

#### 6.2.3. Contract farmers as hirers of migrant workers

This section examines four important changes in the structure of production in Angónia brought about by the adoption of tobacco: i) the generalization of the hiring-in of different categories of workers by the tobacco farmers; ii) the fragmentation of production; iii) changes in the social distribution of risk and costs in agricultural production and iv) The changing role of the state as a mediator of agrarian relations

First, the dramatic expansion of tobacco farming in Angónia owes much to the availability of migrant labour. The interaction of two different agrarian regimes either side of the international border allows Mozambican tobacco farmers to mobilize cheap migrant labour from Malawi. Hired-in labour takes three different forms, which are explained in detail in Chapter VII: *ganyu*, casual hired-in labour; *seasoni*, migrant seasonal labourers; and tenants. The precariousness and informality of the labour force in tobacco is manifest in the poor labour conditions and pay that allows workers to subsist or remit to their family in Malawi, but is insufficient to reproduce a whole household.

Second, unlike plantations and estates, contract farming in Mozambique is operated by separate household units. With no unified site of labour, contract farming results in the atomization of production. Political organization and collective action become more difficult, both for producers and for their hired

labour (Wilson 1986). The transformation of direct employees into contract farmers implies an alignment of the interests of the farmers with those of the company. Farmers become effective intermediaries to merchant capital for labour recruitment and labour disciplining (Little and Watt 1994).

Third, contract farming implied that households took on the higher costs and the higher levels of risk in production. This is valid for the different categories of farmers discussed in Chapter IX. It has been observed that the main cost components of tobacco production in Mozambique are wages and non-wage related labour costs (Benfica et al. 2005, Benfica 2006, Lukanu et al. 2004, WB 2005). One of the core features of contract farming is the shifting of the responsibility for hiring and monitoring the labour force onto direct producers. The advantages for agribusiness capital of this shift are enough to offset the higher transaction costs for the company of managing individual contracts with thousands of tobacco producers. Risk in contract farming is a central theme of NIE approaches that tend to be more interested in the risk for agribusiness than in the risk to producers (Oya 2012). Some risks that are allegedly overcome by agribusiness through contract farming are, in the case of tobacco in Angónia, simply shifted onto producers. The farmer becomes solely liable for harvest failure, price volatility, labour hiring and monitoring and land ownership. If the company rejects part of the produce, there is no legal secondary market for tobacco although tobacco has no use value for farming households.

The way in which these risks combine with the social dynamics of production has been wholly neglected except for the work of scholars looking at the implications of contract farming adoption for intra-household relations (Carney 1988, Dolan 2005). Three cases from fieldwork interviews conducted in Angónia illustrate how farmers experience risks around labour mobilization and insecurity in the property of land:

*Marcos, North Angónia. Marcos and his wife Felicidade had 1.5 ha in tobacco. At the height of the weeding period this year, Felicidade was about to give birth to their third child and could not work in the fields. Marcos then had a work-related injury that left him incapacitated during this critical period. Unable to use the household's labour, Marcos and*

*Felicidade borrowed from local moneylenders to hire in labour. But it was too late to save most of their tobacco. The tobacco they produced just about cleared their debt with the company, but was not enough to repay the expensive loan.*

*Milka, North Angónia. Milka is in charge of the tobacco contract and production since breaking up with her first husband and despite having re-married. With earnings from a couple of good harvests, Milka decided to buy a new field to expand her tobacco production. But after a year of farming the new field the family of the sellers questioned the transaction. The Nyakwawas mediated and it was decided that the field would be returned. Milka was reimbursed, but she received only the money she paid for the field and will not be compensated for the expenses of opening the field or for the fertilizer that she had already used on this land.*

*Ganizanis, North Angónia. Ganizanis is a successful farmer with large proceeds from tomato and tobacco in fields inherited by his wife Agnesi. Ganizanis and Agnesi have built a large brick house, barns, and several granaries and now own two motorcycles. But the relationship between Ganizanis and Agnesi has deteriorated and Agnesi asked Ganizanis to move out. The dissolution of the household will be complex: Agnesi is the owner of the land but Ganizanis is the signatory of the contract.*

Finally, the contract farming scheme encapsulates a transformation of the role of the state in agriculture. While at least at the discursive level structural adjustment promised to contain state intervention, which was seen as distorting the market with price controls and marketing boards, the creation of geographically concentrated monopsony concessions meant, in reality, the contrary. The concessions exist by virtue of a political decision of the state. Also the state intervenes directly in enforcing the concessions, not least because it polices an international border that marks the perimeter of the concession. In this respect the costs of enforcing the concession fall on border authorities rather than on the concession's operator. This is a contradictory aspect of the neo-

liberal ideology that demands the absence of the state but requires the selective intervention of the state to support particular interests.

#### 6.2.4 Historical and structural drivers

Contract farming in tobacco took advantage of existing socio-economic differentiation that had accelerated during the war (Chapter V); furthermore, tobacco under contract fed on the labour migration experiences of farmers in Angónia, including those that took place *during* the war (Chapters IV and V). Tobacco production is practically generalized in Angónia. It has been estimated that roughly one in every three households in Angónia had a contract for tobacco in the 2011-2012 season. But some characteristics of tobacco agriculture vary substantially depending on the scale of production. At the lowest level, certain conditions must be met in order for a household to be able to grow tobacco: land and water should be accessible for tobacco and for food production; the household needs a source of liquidity because the full production cycle is prolonged (September to June) and there is only a one-off payment at the end of the season; the household has to guarantee that it will be able to mobilize labour proportional to the area cultivated and on time.

In August, farmers head to Malawi to recruit seasonal workers. They estimate the number of workers that they will need on the basis of costs of sustenance (maize and other expenses) and the area that will be farmed. Gibbon and Peters claim that the capacity of a household to sign a farming contract also depends on the availability of an investment fund to comply with the additional expense of producing according to stringent quality standards (2005). These conditions alone exclude a number of households in Angónia from taking part in tobacco contracts. Oya remarks the selectivity of contract farming schemes which are restricted to the farmers that have the means to participate (2012,21); Watts cites farmers in contract farming for tea in Kenya as having twice as much land as farmers outside the scheme, and in tobacco landholdings larger than 5 acres are a requirement for admission into the scheme (2004, 55); Sachikonye refers to the inequality in the access to the means of production as both a cause and an effect of social differentiation in contract farming (1989).



Wilson has proposed that contract farming is compatible with sectors and regions where farmers are undercapitalized and there is abundant labour supply (1986). All scales of tobacco production in Angónia require substantial amounts of labour input. Larger producers rely on seasonal migrant labour or tenants, while smaller producers can hire casual workers. What emerges very clearly from the survey data is that – with few exceptions - tobacco producers do not sell their own household's labour power during the tobacco season and that it is only the most precarious households that have to look for *ganyu* jobs. This is markedly different to what Melamed (2002) reported in the case of cotton in Northern Mozambique, where even large producers combined farming with off-farm labour. Larger producers that no longer work in the field may have parallel businesses, but coordinate the production.

The organization of production for tobacco depends on a degree of social differentiation. Some farmers have the means to sustain the productive effort (which in most cases involves substantial labour hiring) while other farmers are compelled to sell their labour force. In a more socially homogeneous setting it would be more difficult to mobilize casual labour and this would either limit the area that households could plant using only labour power available within the household or force investment in labour-saving techniques. With a varied portfolio of labour hiring regimes, farmers have been capable of expanding their operation beyond the limits of what can be produced using only the labour available within the household. For example, tenants can farm peripheral fields, or farmers can organize production in non-contiguous fields now aided by the widespread ownership of motorcycles.

#### 6.2.5 The political economy approach

The Angónia case confirms the hypothesis that links the expansion of contract farming with the contraction of parastatal mechanisms for agricultural provision and marketing. Oya (2012) takes this argument further to propose that there is no antithetical opposition between contract farming and the old marketing boards. The distinction boils down to a widespread preference at the time for private mechanisms for agricultural promotion. This is linked to the reality that despite

the enthusiastic promotion of contract farming by the very institutions that pushed for market liberalization, the contract farming schemes they hail as the way forward for African agriculture are, in essence, dependent on the robust intervention of states (WB 2005, Oya 2012, Little and Watts 1994). Tobacco concessions in Mozambique are essentially politically constructed spaces with no market competition. Geographic concessions are not only a way of restricting competition among agribusiness, but notably also a way of restricting the options available for the growers, a point highlighted by Little and Watts (1994) and reiterated by Oya (2012).

In Mozambique as elsewhere, CSOs share with IFIs an ideological preference for smallholder farmers and a certain antipathy for the estate model (See UNAC and Justiça Ambiental 2012, Smalley 2013). Policy and academic discourses struggle to make sense of contract farming beyond asking whether it has positive or negative effects for smallholder farmers. The problem of such approaches is their inability to understand farmers as a heterogeneous group. Without a conception of social differentiation, it is not possible to explain why contract farming has different effects on different groups of producers (See Chapter IX). Second, they fail to consider that the households engaged in contract farming are not homogeneous units with aligned interests, but sites of conflict over the imperatives of production and reproduction. The effects of contract farming are mediated by the power relations within the household. Third, and despite abundant evidence to the contrary, most stakeholders in debates about rural development in Mozambique remain wedded to the idea of peasants as subsistence farmers (e.g. Borras et al. 2011, Brück 2004). In contrast, previous chapters have provided a wealth of evidence about the centrality of commodity production relations to the agrarian structure.

The relation between farmers and agricultural labour in Angónia is asymmetrical. Informality protects farmers from scrutiny and the state apparatus has proved consistently reluctant to acknowledge the existence and the prominence of these labour relations. Through their incorporation of contract farmers, MNCs have considerable leverage to indirectly impose conditions and wages that would not be tenable in the formal sector where these corporations themselves operate.

As the following chapters will show, contract farming in Angónia has contributed to socio-economic differentiation, commodification and – inevitably - to growing land and income inequality. The promotion of contract farming on the assumption that it is a win-win solution for smallholder farmers and agribusiness is based on a simplistic and inaccurate understanding of the agrarian structure. Conversely, the demonization of contract farming as a win-lose mechanism whereby farmers are exploited by capital also overlooks differentiation and obscures much of the subtlety of the way contract farming works, with groups of farmers that do indeed benefit and accumulate and other farmers that end up impoverished and indebted.

### **6.3 Conclusion**

This chapter started by describing the succession of events and processes that led to the post-war re-adoption of tobacco in Mozambique under the umbrella of the institutional framework created by the state and taking the form of contract farming schemes set up by tobacco trading and processing companies. This process revolved around the consequences of inter-firm competition within the logic of politically created concessions, which ultimately led to corporate concentration and to the intensification of tobacco agriculture in the provinces of Tete and Niassa.

The historical reconstruction of this process was followed by an exploration of different approaches to explaining the rapid expansion of tobacco under contract in borderland districts with an emphasis on Angónia. This allowed for the identification of the social structures that made Angónia and the borderland districts more permeable and more responsive to contract farming than other regions of Mozambique, namely the pressures created by the imperatives for the reproduction of farmers coupled with the narrower set of options available in the hinterland during the post-conflict period.

In examining the dynamics of this transformation it was noted that production in Angónia takes place in a borderland where the differences between agrarian regimes can be exploited in an arbitrage economy. The mobilization of a Malawian labour force allows contract farmers not only to secure labour supply

but also to attract a type of labour that is functionally separated from the means of production. After examining the drivers of expansion, the chapter went on to analyse the ways in which contract farming has transformed Angónia's agrarian structures, in some respects quite radically. The following chapters study the land and labour dynamics and the extent to which agricultural intensification is accelerating the process of social differentiation.

## **Chapter VII: Land relations: lineage, vernacular market and the changing patterns of ownership and transfer**

This chapter sets out to examine aspects of the land regime in Angónia that reveal the contradictions and tensions of the accelerated transformation brought about by the tobacco boom. It is argued that agricultural intensification introduced pressures towards the commodification of land but that this process was uneven. The socially constructed space and the relative flexibility of land management institutions shaped how commodification advanced and was resisted by different population groups. Chapter III described the particularity of the patterns of settlement and Chapter IV reconstructed the historical antecedents of the social construction of space in this borderland. Angónia is more densely populated than any other rural district in Mozambique. Despite the highlands concentrating a sizeable population, rather than large towns it is a dense network of villages and hamlets that dominates the productive landscape, making Angónia distinctive.

The social formation of property relations shaped land tenure structure in Angónia. Fieldwork research, statistical evidence and historical literature coincide in observing that landlessness and land scarcity are not pressing concerns for the population of Angónia. There are areas of the district where demographic pressure is more acutely felt and some of the respondents in the sample of producers do not own enough land to guarantee that their children will be able to reproduce themselves as farmers. Nevertheless, the more or less universal access to land and the rather balanced gender distribution of land rights play an important part in shaping the class position of respondents and the productive relations in the district. This is particularly so as an important proportion of the labour force consists of migrant workers from Malawi, where landlessness is far more pervasive (Bryceson 2008, McKraken 2013). However Peters also finds that in the matrilineal-matrilocal societies of southern Malawi women's rights to land are secure, contrary to the general literature on women's land rights and land reform in sub-Saharan Africa that tends to assume the contrary (2010).

This chapter addresses the tension emerging in the arrangements for transferring land as kin structures undergo a transformation in Angónia. Kinship remains the traditional channel for gaining access to land but is in tension with emerging institutional arrangements for the expansion of settlements on the agricultural frontier. In some cases, pressures towards the commodification of land enter in direct contradiction with the existing cultural institutions and traditions around land, while in other cases traditional institutions have found ways to adapt to the demands of the agricultural boom.

Chapter IV suggested that there had been a relation between matrilineal settlement practices and male long-distance labour migration during the colonial period. Men's migration and access to wages could provide the foundation for household farming, providing a necessary investment fund to pay for clearing land, for tools and for cattle. Women remained on the land they received from their matriliney and would farm on their own or with the help of *ganyu* labour. This chapter shows how the end of the outmigration and the post-conflict consolidation of tobacco have resulted in the transformation of residential patterns. Hypothesis 1 – introduced in Chapter III – argued that the introduction and expansion of tobacco would create a demand for land that was mediated by lineage-based institutions. The hypothesis specifically proposed that in areas of the district with consolidated lineage structures managing access to land, limits would arise for the expansion of the units of production and the accumulation strategies would not rely exclusively on tobacco. On the contrary, in zones where lineages were less consolidated and customary authorities could accommodate the influx of farmers interested in buying larger tracts of land, tobacco would become the main avenue for accumulation. This chapter will examine and compare channels of access to land; the patterns of land transfer; the way land relations shape the dynamics of production and the evidence of the emergence of a vernacular market for land in order to test the validity of Hypothesis 1.

## **7.1 Kinship and patterns of household formation and residence in Angónia**

The analysis of data on access to land stemming from the STFA, in-depth interviews with selected respondents, and other interviews carried out during fieldwork provide valuable insight into the changing patterns of land management and into the differentiated impact that the post-war adoption of tobacco has had on different parts of the district. Since households are the fundamental unit in the production of tobacco in Angónia, most of the discussion will revolve around the role of households vis-à-vis property regimes and as organizers of production. The section proceeds as follows: it begins by examining the ways in which households are formed and the prevailing residential patterns and the channels to access land. Then it turns to a description of the functioning of vernacular land markets. These two property regimes are then contrasted in the case of the survey clusters and the resulting analysis qualifies the validity of the initial hypothesis.

The household is the fundamental unit in the production of tobacco in Angónia. With the exception of one tobacco farm operated and managed as a firm and a few very large producers, in the case of every other tobacco farmer interviewed, the unit of production was the household. No single adult undertakes tobacco on their own: a very young respondent of 16 years of age managed the tobacco contract but farmed with his widowed mother, whereas a very old widow of approximately 70 years of age farmed with her divorced adult daughter. Conversely, this means inbuilt entry barriers exist that prevent the poorest households - mono-parental, elderly, child-headed and land-scarce - from adopting tobacco.

Households are central to tobacco production for a host of reasons, but most notably because of labour and land dynamics. Tobacco is more labour-intensive than other crops produced in Angónia and tobacco has very steep peak labour periods, for instance during weeding and during leaf processing. During these periods, considerable time-sensitive work needs to be done in a coordinated manner. In fact, the most common way in which locals refer to tobacco is by remarking '*kwa fodja ntchito zambiri*' ('tobacco demands a lot of work').

According to fieldwork observations, even small-scale production (0.5 tonnes of tobacco) require at least two adults and also occasional help from other members of the household, relatives, neighbours or – most frequently – casual hired labour, *ganyu*. As will be shown below, land dynamics make households the typical unit of tobacco production. Tobacco production does not displace the production of maize. The adoption of tobacco typically signals that the farmer (or better, the farming household) has access to land in excess of that needed to produce maize. It is more likely that this is the case in a household in which two adults are pooling land resources than among unmarried adults. It is noteworthy in Table 7.1 that 96 per cent of the tobacco farmers in the sample are married and that there are no divorced men commanding tobacco contracts in the STFA sample.

Table 7.1a Survey respondents' marital status by gender

	<i>Survey respondents</i>			<i>In a polygynous household</i>
	<i>Total</i>	<i>Married</i>	<i>Single/ Separated/ Widowed</i>	
Men	81	80	1*	5
Women	20	17	3	2

\* Young man of 16 years of age managing the tobacco contract and farming with his widowed mother. (Source: STFA)

Table 7.1b Survey respondents' marital status by cluster

	<i>Survey respondents</i>			<i>In a polygynous household</i>
	<i>Total</i>	<i>Married</i>	<i>Single/ Separated/ Widowed</i>	
North Angónia	33	30	3	2
Central Angónia	42	41	1	3
South Angónia	26	26	0	2

(Source: STFA)



It is customary for men and women to be allocated fields for agriculture and a garden to grow food around the time of their first marriage. Couples that want to live together start a consultation with their respected families involving their parents and their *Nkhoswe*, a maternal uncle or senior member of their maternal family group who acts as a guardian for matters pertaining to the marriage. The woman's *Nkhoswe* and the man's *Nkhoswe* meet and discuss the viability of the union. The two families visit each other. If the marriage is approved, preparations begin for a wedding day. On that day family and friends will pay a visit. The husband's family brings gifts for the new household such as plates, pots, glasses, and so on. However, unlike in other parts of Mozambique, there is no bridewealth or *lobolo*.

Around the time of the wedding, a young woman and her elders will walk to the land of the family and she will be shown an area that is allocated to her for farming. She will also receive a garden. If the man she is marrying comes from nearby and his family has abundant land, he will also receive some land. However, since the majority of the people build their houses in or around the compound of the wife's family, couples tend to live closer to the fields of the woman.

The analysis of data from the STFA survey seems to confirm Englund's observation about practices in Northeast Angónia in the mid-1990s where most households tended to be ambilineal - with couples receiving land and support both from the husband's and the wife's sides - but predominantly matrilineal - that is, settling down and building their first house in land from the wife's lineage (2002). In the STFA survey the majority of producers (49.5 percent) have built their houses in land belonging to the family of the wife (see Table 7.2).

Table 7.2 Household residential patterns

<i>Location of the house where the respondent lives at the time of the survey</i>							
	<i>In husband's family compound</i>	<i>In wife's family compound</i>	<i>Not specified*</i>	<i>On plot given by local authority**</i>	<i>Migrant settler**</i>	<i>Bought the plot</i>	<i>Total</i>
Female	30%	60%	-	-	10%	-	20
Male	16%	47%	5%	12%	17%	2%	81
Firm	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	19%	50%	4%	10%	16%	2%	101

\* Includes unmarried respondents; \*\* Can refer to a purchase in the vernacular land market  
(Source: STFA)

Residential patterns are an important element shaping the organization of tobacco production. After burley tobacco leaves are harvested, they need to be sewn and hung in purpose-built barns for air curing for 2 months. The location of the barns is critical: the closer they are to the fields, the lower the costs of transporting leaf from the field to the barn. But at the same time, while the tobacco leaf is being cured it is highly vulnerable to theft, compromising the whole of the households' labour time and investment. Furthermore, hired help is regularly needed in the sewing and hanging up of the leaves, which is done in the barn, so the barn also needs to be located in a place that is accessible to *ganyu* casual workers. In order to watch over the curing leaf, barns are ideally built next to the house and within the compound where the household lives. This also means that if the household lives with the wife's family, and her land is closer to the house, it is more likely that tobacco is grown mainly in fields owned by the wife and cured in the compound.

A few families who farm tobacco in fields distant from the house will set up temporary thatch huts in the field where they will sleep during the curing season. Still other households hire seasonal workers whose tasks may include sleeping in the barn and watching over the leaf during the period of curing. This in part explains the relation that exists between marital residential patterns and the

organization of tobacco production. The tendency to settle down with the wife's family and to follow the Chewa practice of newlyweds working alongside the wife's parents seems to explain why the majority of the respondents (71 percent) in the STFA sample started off farming land belonging to the wife, as shown in Table 7.3. This is far more pronounced in the case of the first marriage than thereafter.

Table 7.3 Fields worked after marriage

	<i>Cases</i>	<i>Husband's fields</i>	<i>Wife's fields</i>	<i>Both husband's and wife's fields</i>	<i>Fled to Malawi</i>	<i>Partner's fields in Malawi</i>	<i>Other</i>
First Partner	93	14	73	1	4	0	1
Second Partner	26	10	13	0	1	2	0
Third Partner	5	3	2	0	0	0	0
Total unions	124	27	88	1	5	2	1
Percentage		21.8 %	71.0 %	0.8 %	4.0 %	1.6 %	0.8 %

(Source: STFA)

However the data refer to land that survey respondents farmed *immediately after* marrying, both in their current and previous marriages. In contrast, when asked in retrospective about the origin of the totality of the land inherited by the reference household (that which is currently producing tobacco) it can be noted that the tendency is significantly less skewed towards women. Table 7.4a shows that the vast majority of the female respondents in the survey, 90 percent, received land from their lineage, against only 62 per cent of the male respondents. The difference is not as dramatic as in the case of the first land farmed (71 and 21 per cent respectively). Migrant settlers may have received land from their lineages in the regions of origin, but their inability to farm it usually results in their handing that land back to their lineage. In the course of the STFA no case was found of migration being triggered by landlessness. Table 7.4c shows that although fewer men than women inherit land from their lineage, the average size of the landholding is similar for men and women.<sup>6</sup> This is

<sup>6</sup> This includes only those respondents that have had their landholding measured (48 out of 101 respondents).

significant in that it would confirm the importance of lineage-based channels for land acquisition among present-day tobacco farmers, but at the same time it means that the significant differences in terms of the size of the landholdings that will be examined below are not determined by gender dynamics.

Table 7.4a Respondents who received land from their family

	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>Respondents who own</i>	
		<i>Munda (field)</i>	<i>Dimba (garden)</i>
Men	81	62%	52%
Women	20	90%	75%

(Source: STFA)

Table 7.4b Landholding size for fields received from own family

	<i>Landholding size (in hectares)</i>			
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Min.</i>	<i>Max.</i>
Men	4.69	4	1	13
Women	4.63	3	1.5	20

(Source: STFA)

Pauline Peters warned that policy initiatives in Malawi advocating the formalization and individualization of landed property might have the unintended consequence of harming the relative security of women's access to land in regions with a matrilineal tradition. The data for tobacco farmers in Angónia supports the essence of the argument that finds women in this agrarian system with more secure access to land, although land transmission in Angónia is not exclusively matrilineal, as seems to be the case in the regions studied by Peters (2010). Table 7.5 shows that most of the respondents' households inherited land from both sides, although among those that inherited only from one side, those who inherited from the wife's side are almost twice as many as those who inherited from the husband's side.

Table 7.5 Land inherited by the household

<i>Household received land from:</i>			
<i>Husband's family</i>	<i>Wife's family</i>	<i>Both families</i>	<i>Did not inherit land</i>
18%	29%	46%	8%

(Source: STFA)

### *Land management and the household*

In the more traditional unions, a few months before a young couple is to be married, the young man will come to stay and work with the in-laws for a trial period. Respondents agreed that this is important in order to check that the young man is a good, hardworking person, and that the relationship works. During that time the couple will continue to eat with the in-laws, but they will start opening a field and building a house, usually within the compound. The preparatory research work and the implementation of the survey included visits to many of these compounds. Some were veritable citadels with up to four generations of women descendants of the same elder living together along with their daughters, husbands and unmarried sons. Although the land they farm is part of the land area that belongs to the lineage, households within the compound eat and farm separately. New couples eat with the in-laws until their own first harvest.

Men and women farm together, although women are mainly responsible for the gardens. Both men and women can take produce to the market, but it is more frequently men who will go to the large agricultural markets to sell sacks of potato, beans and groundnuts, while women can sell the fresh produce from their garden in the village. Women are solely in charge of gathering wood, bringing water from the well, cooking and tending to the children. As children grow up and marry, parents subdivide their plot, to give them land to farm. In some cases the lineage reallocates land to ensure that the land that the elder couples can no longer farm is passed on to younger descendants. Also when couples go through conflicts, each side's *Nkhoswe* is called in to intercede. If there is no agreement, the man returns to live with his parents or sisters, leaving the wife and children

under the care of the maternal family. If the man has no land of his own, he will ask his relatives to lend him some land, or help them in their farming until he finds a new wife.

When lineages own vast tracts of land, most of the affines have land and there is no need or desire to buy or rent, as the lineage head can always be approached to authorize the opening of a new field. But the description above is very abstract. In the clusters studied, land relations are tense and in consequence land management takes different forms. When land is not abundant, land conflicts can arise around the allocation and transmission of fields and around the boundaries between individual plots. Land conflicts within the lineage are discussed with the elders and the head of the lineage. It can also be the case that there is not enough land to give to all descendants or that there is already a considerable level of land subdivision. This is the case particularly with the valuable gardens. This introduces some pressure to buy land outside the lineage. Some of the respondents of the survey cited the need to have enough land to bequeath to their offspring as the main reason for buying land.

The *Nyawkawas* are headmen overseeing groups of lineages. Depending on the size of a village there will be one or several *Nyawkawas*. Their main function is the arbitration of land conflicts between members of different lineages. *Nyawkawas* are also a second instance for the resolution of land conflicts within the lineage. The role of *Nyawkawas* as guarantors of land transactions, and the situation of vernacular land transfers within the national legal framework on land, will be discussed in the following section.

## **7.2 Vernacular land markets**

The Mozambican Land Law of 1997 was one of the most debated legislative initiatives of the post-war period. Policy-makers had to find a compromise between the need to create institutional forms to attract investment, trigger productivity enhancement and fund the post-conflict reconstruction of agricultural systems. Furthermore they also had to attend to the apprehension in different political spheres that the outright privatization of land and the creation of exclusionary property rights would result in few years' time in the emergence

of a landless peasantry. The final compromise was a law that upholds the principle that all land is owned by the state. Instead, individuals and communities are entitled to user rights. In this way, what the Mozambican state calls ‘customary authorities’ remain the prevailing structure managing *de facto* user rights for communities while the statutory authorities provide user rights to individuals and corporations, as well as mediating in the negotiation between communities and investors (Tanner 2005, Hanlon 2004). However the conceptual underpinnings of the Land Law can be questioned on the grounds of its complete disregard for the tight interrelation between land and labour regimes in Mozambique, both historical and contemporary as well as for preserving a juridical dualism blinded to the interrelation between ‘the family sector’ and the ‘commercial sector’. This was another example of attempts to protect the access of the population to the means of production, which fail to recognize that access to land alone does not guarantee subsistence in regions such as Angónia. Dualist policies also underestimate the dependence of producers on markets for commodities and labour and risk perpetuating poverty. The criticism levelled against this kind of dualism on the part of the colonial state by Cowen and Shenton (1991) could be extended to the Mozambican Land Law (also Chimhowu and Woodhouse 2006). In the light of the labour market exchanges of the households surveyed, the presumption that the rural population in Mozambique consists mainly of small-holder farmers (Tschirley and Benfica 2001) is not an accurate assessment of more complex functioning of the agrarian structure.

In the case of the sample of tobacco farmers and in the study of the three different clusters selected in this thesis land relations can be summarized as follows. First, as observed by O’Laughlin (1995), there is no significant landlessness. Second, customary institutions, in this case the lineage and the chiefs, remain the dominant authority for the allocation and transfer of land. This, however, does not preclude the commodification of land, the emergence of alternative channels to gain access to land, nor considerable land management differences that relate to conditions that are specific to the different clusters and social groups studied.

The authority over matters related to transfer and conflicts over land rests in Angónia with the kin group. When conflicts cannot be solved at this level, the lineage chiefs will appeal to the *Nyakwawa*. There are three further levels of customary authority that can intervene: *Chwangas* (third level chiefs), *Ndunas* (Second level chiefs) and ultimately the paramount chief, the *Inkosi* of Fulotia (also called *Mfumo*). A three tier-structure of customary power was formalized in Mozambique through decree 15/2000 (Kyed and Buur 2006). The district of Angónia was applying for the administrative recognition of an additional lower tier to include *Nyakwawas*. During the fieldwork for this thesis both the old *Inkosi* and the new *Inkosikasi* were interviewed. A substantial part of the *Inkosi's* time is spent in addressing land conflicts. People from all of Angónia come to seek arbitration. The formalization of commercial land use rights is managed by a statutory institution, the Secretary of Cadastre. The Secretary of Cadastre has also come to work as a final resort of land conflict arbitration in the customary system. When the solution proposed by the *Mfumo* is not accepted by the parties, they make the trip to Vila Ulongue and have a final meeting with the Secretary of Cadastre. The Secretary acts as a mediator, rather than emitting binding verdicts. Overall, land management in the district seems to be driven by pragmatism and hybridity. The state does not have the means to delimit and formalize the rights of use of the communities; local land management is left to the customary system. Chiefs in the different levels receive a state subsidy for their services. The current customary power is an amalgam of Chewa lineage authorities, the descendants of the Ngoni chieftaincy and district institutions that rely heavily on the chiefs. The system can be criticized for its contradictory demand on customary authorities to represent communities while at the same time to extend the footprint of statutory institutions (Kyed and Buurs 2006). However, the functioning of upper echelons of the land management system has provided the interface between the state and the community structures and works to mutually reinforce the authority of the state and that of the chiefs.

In North and Central Angónia, the oldest settlement and where lineage-based land management institutions are less flexible, it can happen that households need access to more land in order to increase their production or desire to acquire more land to bequeath to their offspring. Several respondents cited this



as their reasons for buying a new field or garden. In these cases the household will start inquiring among other villagers whether there is someone interested in selling land. In one case documented, a land-abundant lineage agreed to sell a field that used to belong to an elderly woman who could no longer farm. Her next of kin did not have the means to farm this field and could use the cash. In yet another case a household agreed to sell a field as payment for an old and hefty debt. These transactions are normally agreed between households. For the most part, it is an affair among neighbours, but commercial transfers rarely take place within the same kin group. The lineage heads and the *Nyawkawa* are consulted. If all parties agree to the exchange a date is agreed upon for representatives of both lineages to meet in the field that will be transferred and go through its boundaries. When natural markers are not evident, agave is planted to mark the border. The assistance of the *Nyawkawa* and the lineage elders is critical, as they will act as witnesses lest boundary disputes emerge thereafter. The agreed payment is made and there is a token of gratitude for the *Nyawkawa*. Drinks and some food may be offered. These types of transfers do not involve large sums of money or large fields and remain a verbal agreement between the families, which is sanctioned by the *Nyawkawa* as the overseer of land delimitation.

Another type of transaction encountered was land rentals. Renting land is seen as a last resort, because in all three clusters borrowing and lending land for one year is still a possibility. The reason for this seems to be that the price of buying land is not significantly higher than the cost of the labour invested in clearing a field. Many respondents own large tracts of *land*, but have only cleared a small *field*. This distinction is extremely important, because it provides an insight into how valuable labour power is, relative to land. Tobacco farmers are more reluctant to rent a field than to buy land. If land is available and the potential buyer has the means to clear it, they will likely prefer to buy rather than invest their effort clearing and using fertilizer in land they do not own. Among the respondents who rented land the reasons for renting included not owning enough land; having enough land but not having the means to clear fields; or wanting to increase the area planted in tobacco. A young unmarried man interviewed elsewhere in Angónia had rented land for agriculture in order to save money.

Being single, he did not own land yet. Two of our respondents rented land to adjust the area they intended to plant in tobacco upwards. One of them had received more fertilizer from the company than what he had foreseen and had recruited hired labour in excess of what he could use on his own fields.

So far, the land relations that have been described are those typical of the integrated zones such as North Angónia and, to a lesser extent, Central Angónia. But land transfers are very different on the agrarian frontier. The most salient feature of the agrarian frontier is the presence of migrant farmers. Migration in this part of Angónia is not a new phenomenon, but it is reported to have grown considerably in the post-war period. The main driver of migration was the tobacco boom. South Angónia, like the other two sites, has identifiable lineages and customary authorities. However, unlike the other clusters, the original lineages that lived in the area since the colonial period as well as the *Nyawkawas* claim ownership of vast tracts of land and forest. Historically these villages were scarcely populated and sparsely farmed. There was no direct transport link to the market in Vila Ulongue. This isolation prevented the trade of fresh vegetables. Older interviewees in this area sold maize and beans to Portuguese traders posted in the northwest of the district.

The adoption of tobacco changed matters dramatically. Tobacco is less sensitive to transport times, it has a higher value to bulk ratio (as discussed more generally in Chapter VI in terms of the transport of tobacco to the port) and the tobacco company brings the inputs and collects the final product from the farm gate. This allowed local farmers to take up tobacco and farmers from other regions intending to expand their production to explore the possibility to set up farms in South Angónia. In the course of the field research two *Nyawkawas* and one *Chwanga* were interviewed in this cluster. The prevailing account is of strangers going to South Angónia asking for permission to open fields in the forests, to which some lineage chiefs and *Nyawkawas* acquiesced. For the most part those coming were farmers from the Domwe region who either were running successful tobacco farms but needed more land than what they could get there, or households who were squeezed in the land they had inherited. As reported by one *Nyawkawa*, news of the availability of land in this part of Angónia spread through word of mouth and the newcomers started requesting larger areas and

were willing to pay. In the account of *Nyawawas*, the newcomers only offer a symbolic gesture of gratitude, but when respondents were interviewed it was clear that relatively large sums were paid in exchange for land.

One particularity of the forested areas is that in many parts there is no claiming lineage, so the *Nyawkawas* can effectively exert the role of keepers of these lands and negotiate the access of strangers. The payment for the land has therefore different functions. On the one hand it sanctions the creation of property of land in what had been unpopulated wilderness; on the other hand it invests the *Nyawkawas* with authority over land that has been acquired in a market transaction. It could be disputed that these are land markets because legally land cannot be alienated by particulars in Mozambique and the national land policy framework presumes that customary authorities are intrinsically invested in protecting community lands from strangers. But the mechanism and practices for land transmission point in the opposite direction. Strangers went to South Angónia after hearing that *Nyawkawas* there had land in abundance. If the *Nyawkawa* consents to the sale all parties involved will examine a stretch of land on offer. As explained by one of the *Nyawkawas*, strangers wanting to settle in South Angónia should bring a note from the *Nyawkawa* of their area of origin to certify that they are trustworthy and not leaving behind debts or conflicts.

According to the interviewees, once the boundaries of the land have been agreed, the newcomer will give the *Nyawkawa* a token of gratitude referred to as *Chipunda chaminga*, which literally means ‘stepping on thorns’. The buyer is compensating the *Nyawkawa* for his trouble in the demarcation of the boundaries. The term is a metonym for the payment made for land. In this case the transaction does not involve two families, and the tracts of land transferred and payments are larger. Thereafter it falls with the *Nyawkawa* to enforce the rights that he created. One of the *Nyawkawas* interviewed kept a folder with recommendation letters and a registry of buyers and amounts paid. Land acquired through *Chipunda chaminga* is alienated indefinitely and can be sold and rented, so long as the *Nyawkawa* is notified. Importantly this land is expected to be inherited outside the lineage. Table 7.6 shows the breakdown of respondents among those who have bought, rented and inherited land. Unsurprisingly 90 per cent of men and 100 per cent of the women had inherited

land. Interestingly 22 per cent of the respondents had bought land and only 11 per cent had rented land.

Table 7.6a Headcount of respondents by channel of access to land and gender

	<i>Rented</i>		<i>Bought</i>		<i>Inherited</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	
Men	12	15%	19	23%	73	90%	81
Women	0	0%	3	15%	20	100%	20
Total	12	12%	22	22%	93	92%	101

(Source: STFA)

Table 7.6b Headcount of respondents by channel of access to land and cluster

	<i>Rented</i>		<i>Bought</i>		<i>Inherited</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	
North Angónia	9	27%	4	12%	33	100%	33
Central Angónia	1	2%	2	5%	38	90%	42
South Angónia	2	8%	16	62%	22	85%	26
Total	12	12%	22	22%	93	92%	101

(Source: STFA)

The breakdown of the data by geographical clusters supports the observation of spatial differentiation. Most of the respondents who rent land are concentrated in North Angónia, whereas South Angónia concentrates the respondents who bought land. This contrast is determined by the fact that in North Angónia there is considerable population density and lineages that have lived and farmed on the land for generations. There is not much available land to expand into that is not owned by somebody else. As a consequence, agricultural expansion is either through the intensification of production or through renting land from neighbours. Villagers in North Angónia are loath to sell land, because the soils here are comparatively fertile and the proximity of both streams and markets allows for a strategy that combines tobacco and fresh vegetables. In this way,

labour demand is spread throughout the year, the higher prices of tobacco compensate for the greater volatility of tomato prices in spot markets, and the rapid production and exchange cycle of vegetables counteracts the lack of liquidity of tobacco. In Central Angónia most respondents have access to larger plots of land, therefore there seems to be little need to buy or rent. North Angónia is altogether different: only a few of the respondents are local and 62 per cent are migrant tobacco farmers that accessed land in this part of Angónia through purchases.

Not all of the respondents have measured the fields they farm. Among those who have, the examination of the tendencies of the landholding size is revealing (Table 7.7). First, rented fields are in average smaller than plots bought, which confirms the different socio-spatial dynamics ruling rental and purchase markets for land. Second, respondents have inherited on average 6.24 hectares. This merits a brief observation: although a sample of tobacco producers is intrinsically biased in favour of producers that have access to land, there is considerable land inequality, considering that the minimum observed is 1.5 hectares and the maximum is 48 hectares. The 6.24 mean, and the proximity of mean and median suggest that land holdings are unevenly distributed and that a restriction on the area of land inherited from the lineage is not a salient characteristic of the sample, and therefore not likely to be the driving variable for land purchases.

Table 7.7 Size of landholdings by channel of access to land\*

	<i>Inherited</i>	<i>Bought</i>	<i>Rented</i>	<i>Total land farmed</i>
Number of observations	73	22	9	82
Mean	6.24	15.02	1.78	9.78
Median	5.00	10.00	1.50	7.00
Min.	0.50	1.00	0.50	1.50
Max.	20.50	48.00	4.00	48.00

\*Includes only landholding for which the area is known  
(Source: STFA)

### 7.3. Contrasting clusters in terms of the land regimes

The differences between clusters extend beyond the prevailing channels of access to land. Table 7.8 shows a clear differentiated pattern of land ownership. Respondents in the North Angónia and Central Angónia clusters, closer to markets, farm on average less than half the land farmed by respondents in South Angónia, the agrarian frontier. This is unsurprising except for what it means in terms of the differential dynamics created by the tobacco boom. The tobacco boom created a clear incentive for some farmers to expand their production by migrating and negotiating their access to land on the frontier. In doing so, they contributed to the creation of a new institutional order for land management in which customary authorities still have an important mediating role, but that is not bound by lineage dynamics. In the absence of a control group of farmers not engaged in tobacco, the contrast between South Angónia, where tobacco is intensively grown and North Angónia, where there is overall less dependence on tobacco and no margins for the formation of larger estates provides the opportunity to compare the impact of tobacco on the relations of property.

Table 7.8 Average landholding size by cluster

	<i>Number of respondents</i>		<i>Land size</i>
	<i>Total subsample</i>	<i>Valid observations</i>	<i>Mean of total land farmed, hectares</i>
North Angónia	33	26	4.5
Central Angónia	42	42	6.3
South Angónia	26	25	17.0

(Source: STFA)

Table 7.9 Average area in tobacco by cluster (ha)

	<i>Valid</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Min.</i>	<i>Max.</i>
North Angónia	27	33	2.4	2	1	8
Central Angónia	37	42	3.1	2.5	1	12
South Angónia	23	26	3.8	3	0.5	10

(Source: STFA)

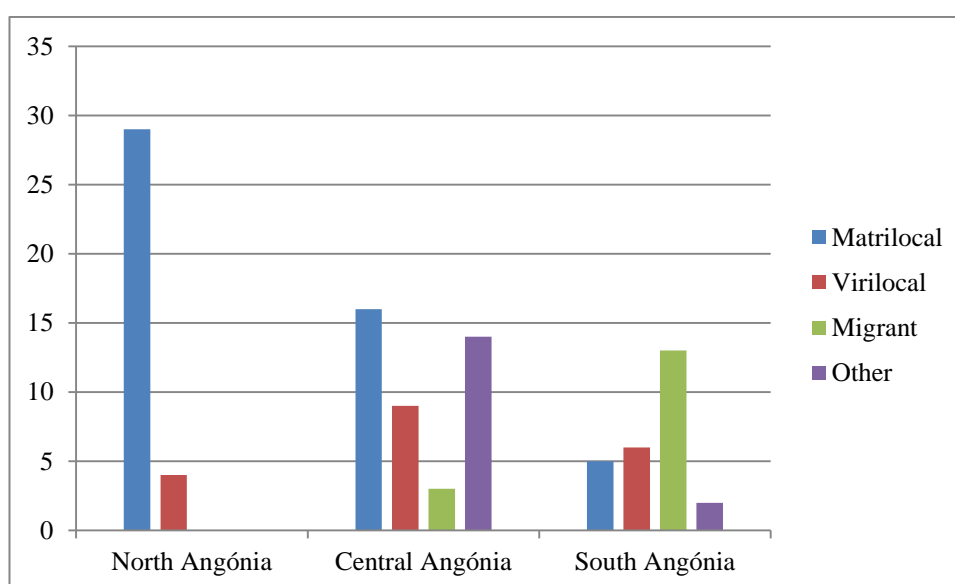
Table 7.10 Average income from tobacco by cluster (Meticais)

	<i>Valid</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Min.</i>	<i>Max.</i>
North Angónia	31	33	12,721	10,300	300	43,000
Central Angónia	34	42	38,999	35,500	3,000	99,000
South Angónia	20	26	59,875	47,500	7,500	250,000

(Source: STFA)

The lineage-based order is still predominant in North and Central Angónia, where matrilineal residential patterns are dominant. Unsurprisingly, the contrary is the case in South Angónia (Graph 7.11). South Angónia, the agricultural frontier, concentrates both the purchases of land and the migrant settlers.

Graph 7.11 Residential patterns by cluster



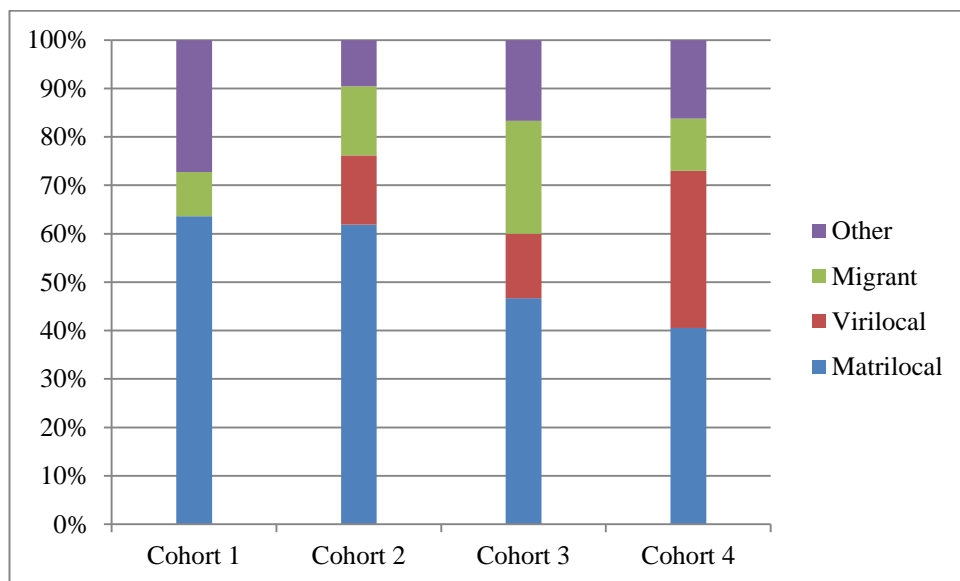
(Source: STFA)

The data on land access presented so far has revealed important spatial patterns of differentiation between incorporated areas and the agrarian frontier. From the cross sectional data gathered in the survey it is not possible to gain a sense of historical change. However, as was observed in Chapters IV and V, the sample of producers in the STFA includes respondents of all ages and therefore households that were formed in different periods. All the respondents had been

married, except for the young unmarried man farming with his widowed mother. Only three respondents (all of them women) were not married at the time of the interview. An examination of residential patterns discriminated by age cohorts shows the prevailing practices among households that came together in the different historical periods examined in this thesis.

To recapitulate, respondents in the first age cohort (born before 1956) married for the first time in or before the mid-1970s, still during the colonial period. All respondents in cohort 2 (born in 1957-1966) married in the mid-1980s before the advent of the civil war to Angónia. Respondents in cohort 3 (born in 1967-1976) married in the 1990s, during the war or immediately after the signing of the Peace Agreement, while all respondents in Cohort 4 (born After 1977) married in the post-war period. As graph 7.12 shows, matrilocity remains the prevailing residential arrangement but seems to be on the decline over the five decades covered in the sample.

Graph 7.12 Marital residential patterns in first union by age cohort (percentage)



(Source: STFA)

Further research would be necessary to make definite assertions about overall trends in residential patterns and channels for land transfer. The available data presented in this chapter points towards a proportional decrease in the number of households following the matrilocal pattern. The change seems to have started



with couples that came together during the civil war or in the immediate aftermath and has been sustained during the post-war period. Whereas respondents from the first age cohort in the sample were primarily matrilocal, virilocal households are almost as numerous as matrilocal households among the younger respondents. It seems plausible that male long-distance labour migration during the colonial period had the effect of reinforcing the matrilocality, with women remaining as the main source of labour in family farming. During the war-period, post-marital land transfers were of course on hold, as most of the population was made landless by forced migration, still among the age cohort that married during these years there was a significant spike in the proportion of couples that settled as migrants once back in Angónia (see Cohort 3). However, among respondents who got married in the post-war period, that is, once they had settled back in Mozambique, there is a clear increase in the proportion of virilocal unions. This could be the combined effect of the substantial winding down of demand for Mozambican long-distance labour migrants and the tobacco boom which has created opportunities for on-farm accumulation for segments of the male population that used to migrate.

#### **7.4. Conclusions**

In her 1990 analysis of class formation and agrarian change in northern Tamil Nadu, Harriss-White came to a conclusion about the role of commercial capital in the process of class formation that applies to contract farming in Angónia. In the Tamil Nadu case, merchant capital financed agriculture and exerted indirect commercial control over production through credit, prices and production contracts. Merchant capital is, however, not interested in owning land or getting directly engaged in production. Harris-White's analysis distinguishes this form of secondary surplus appropriation which takes place in the sphere of exchange, from primary surplus extraction in the sphere of production.

In providing credit and market outlets, the operation of merchant capital has an insufficiently studied effect of slowing down the process of "depeasantization" that would result from farmers who, in the absence of these services, would not be commercially viable and would be forced to abandon farming. The important

point is that merchant capital is not only having the effect of precluding the formation of an outright proletariat, but also “constraining the development of large-scale capitalist agriculture based on primary surplus appropriation, in a region where both productivity and rates of return increase with scale” (Harriss-White 1990, 100). This analysis fits the case of contract farming in Angónia. It is clear that the inputs and market outlet are the determinant of the continued viability of farming for the district’s producers; the counterfactual is the colonial and pre-war periods when no such services were on offer and the male population was forced into periodic labour out-migration. Yet by extending the viability of farming as a livelihood strategy in Angónia, the contract farming scheme has the effect in Angónia of slowing down the process of proletarianization that was crucial to the functioning of the colonial agrarian structure. At the same time, the contract farming scheme, which depends critically on the influx of Malawian migrant labourers, accelerates the proletarianization of this group. Some of these issues are discussed in length in the following chapter.

Contract farming is therefore a link between the process of agricultural intensification and the changes in residential and land transfer patterns in Angónia. The combined effect of the end of the southern African labour system and the rise of contract farming revolutionized the relations of production in Angónia by making household farming the main site of income generation. This came after decades of labour outmigration, in which wages were providing the necessary capital injection to sustain family farming.

With the consolidation of tobacco under contract land has appreciated. Tobacco contracts have also caused a reversal of the labour migratory flows: former migrants started to move into cash cropping as a viable livelihood alternative and the growing demand for labour resulted in an unprecedented phenomenon; Angónia started importing labour force from Malawi. But the changing uses and value of land put pressure on the prevailing land management institution: the lineage. This pressure has had spatially differentiated effects in the integrated areas and on the agricultural frontier, which recall the combination of social structures, spatial relations and agrarian change in emblematic cases of frontier expansion, such as the cocoa farmers of Akim Abakwa studied by Hill (1961)

and the political economy of agricultural boom and conflict in the Upper Guinea Forest in the work of Chauveau and Richards (2008). In the integrated areas of Northern Angónia where there was no room for expansion and lineage institutions were more rigid tobacco was adopted, but the units of production remained within the limits that lineage-based land transfers permitted.

An emblematic case of the contradictions between socially constructed land tenure institutions and the dynamics of intensification is the case of Ganizanis and Agnes from North Angónia, briefly presented in Chapter VI: an extremely successful farming household rapidly accumulating on the basis of their tobacco production but constrained by the land endowments received from the wife's lineage. Whereas in the past the separation of a couple implied that the husband would return temporarily to his parents or sisters, until he conformed a new household and then resumed labour migration and remittances, the contemporary separation of Ganizanis and Agnes is far more complex. The accumulated wealth and the economic dynamism of the household is not divisible as it involves Ganizanis' labour and coordination but took place on Agnes' land. This theme is explored by Peters in her study of matrilineal-matrilocal land relations in southern Malawi (2010). This dominance of matrilocal practices is characteristic of North Angónia but not as significant in Central or Southern Angónia. The land dynamics on the agrarian frontier are different. There the land is abundant and scarcely populated. There is political space for the creation of new land institutions and new forms of authority over land.

This chapter has presented a detailed analysis of the data on land resulting from the survey of tobacco producers. This data is complimented with contextual information stemming from in-depth interviews with respondents and other key-informant in the research sites. On the basis of the data collected on average landholding size, residential patterns and channels for access to land, it was concluded that the observations are clustered geographically into two different agrarian regimes. On the one hand North and Central Angónia, where most of the respondents have gained access to land via their own or their partner's lineage and South Angónia, where most respondents are migrant settlers. These differences are confirmed by the Southern cluster more intense purchasing of land: 62 per cent of respondents had bought land here in contrast to 12 and 5 per

cent respectively in North and Central Angónia. Furthermore, the average land holding in South Angónia was 17 has against 4.5 and 6.3 in North and Central Angónia. As will be discussed in the following chapters, these differences translate into substantially different outcomes both quantitatively - in terms of inputs and outputs - and well as qualitative - in terms of the organization of production and the household. The Chapter confirms the hypothesis proposed. Chapters VIII and IX will contribute to demonstrate that accumulation on the basis of hired-in work and tobacco farming profits from the greater isolation of labour and the dearth of alternatives for producers nearer the agrarian frontier.

## **Chapter VIII: Labour relations in Angónia: hiring in and hiring out in historical perspective**

The spatial construction of Angónia as a densely populated but isolated borderland meant that for most of the colonial period the only ‘commodity’ that could be traded with the rest of Mozambique and with neighbouring colonies was the migrant labour force of its inhabitants. Previous chapters have discussed how the intense and early participation in labour markets resulted in the growing dependence on wages for the reproduction of farming households and the accelerated commodification of relations of production back in Angónia. It was also argued that until the end of the Mozambican civil war, the wage labour experiences of the population of Angónia had resulted in a historical trend towards proletarianization. For a host of reasons related to the political economy of the colonial economy, this did not result in the emergence of a class of free labour but it did shape the organization of agricultural production in Angónia and made the farming households more dependent on markets for food, commodities and labour. The tendency towards proletarianization has had uneven effects socially and spatially, as discussed in previous chapters. In the case of women, for example, it involved them more intensely in the production of commodities.

In part because of the tobacco boom, this historical tendency has now been reversed. Angónia is no longer a net exporter of labour, but a net importer. Thousands of Malawian seasonal workers and tenants come every year to work in tobacco, very much as Mozambican refugees did in Malawi during the war. It is argued here that this reversal of labour migration flows responds to an epochal shift to household farming as the main locus of production and accumulation and to a spatial repositioning of capital and labour. Two processes are closely linked. First, colonial accumulation was characterized by mining and agricultural capital that operated mines and estates directly. While this type of primary accumulation persists in the region, Angónia is now integrated in a different sphere of capital accumulation. In the post-war period tobacco leaf trading multinationals started the contract farming scheme, a form of secondary

appropriation through indirect commercial control. In this case of contract farming, capital is not directly involved in production. The contract farming households became outgrowers and their farms became the site of production. This transition was accompanied by the change in labour relations mentioned before: from labourers migrating outwards to the mines and plantations where capital accumulation took place, to merchant capital making the funds available for these same former migrants to produce on their own farms and hiring in labour.

This chapter traces briefly the labour trajectory of tobacco farmers. It then turns to describing the three main labour categories present in tobacco and situates them in the broader structure of production. The chapter explains the relations of complementarity and the contradictions between categories.

### **8.1 The changing labour hiring balances in Angónia**

Inhabitants of Angónia have had a long and changing relation with labour markets. During the three periods examined in this thesis – the colonial period, the civil war and the post-conflict period – different groups of households have hired labour in and out. The predominant labour dynamics among tobacco farmers in the STFA mirror the historical transformation of production in the district. During the late colonial period most of the households in the sample (among those formed in the colonial period) were combining the production of food and cash crops. Most of the adult males in those households were also engaged in periodic long-distance labour migration. Labour migration began as a way to avoid forced labour and wages were originally used to pay colonial taxes, but progressively wages became the source of an investment fund necessary in household farming (First 1983, Harries 1994). Losing the labour contribution of migrant males meant that households had to adapt their agricultural practices. In some cases, remittances from off-farm employment were used to hire *ganyu* labour, a tendency in many other parts of Africa (see for example Kitching 1980, Orvis 1993). Different migration and commodity production trajectories resulted in socially differentiated groups, although most households combined the class position of commodity producers and labour migrants. This labour regime

persisted after independence. However, demand for migratory labour from traditional destinations began to dwindle and most of the respondents in the survey working in South Africa, Rhodesia and the sugar mills on the Zambezi started heading to Malawi.

Around 1983 the Mozambican civil war came to Angónia and caused the forced migration of most of the population. Among the sample in the STFA all but a handful of respondents went as refugees to Malawi and the vast majority made a living there as agricultural workers on the tobacco estates. Although migrating for wages was in no way new for the refugees from Angónia, their situation in Malawi was markedly different from previous experiences. Unlike their previous migrations, during the time spent in Malawi they had been made landless by war, they frequently migrated to the new labour destinations with their whole family and, therefore, their families depended fully on their wages for their reproduction. Depending on their age, connections and personal circumstances, some Mozambicans joined tobacco estates as *tiketi*, monthly paid workers living in compounds provided by the estate, while others came with their families as tenants and were given land in exchange for producing tobacco for the estate. In both cases the war-induced separation of producers from the means of production transformed these respondents into war-time proletarian labour force.

The wartime productive trajectories amplified the socioeconomic differentiation among the refugees. Some had the chance to learn new agricultural techniques, some had the opportunity to save some money, some started businesses in Malawi and others became foremen in tobacco plantations. Still others became destitute or chronically dependent on irregular income from petty trade or on the hand-outs of humanitarian agencies. This differentiation was most evident when the war came to an end and the refugees returned to Mozambique. Households that had the means to clear fields and rapidly re-establish their production of maize and cash crops were in a position to take advantage of the post-conflict adoption of tobacco, but they also benefitted from the availability of poorer neighbours that needed to complement their income with wages from casual work.

Social differentiation and the dynamics of production linked to the contract farming scheme created the conditions for the transition of most of the households in the survey from predominantly hired labour to hirers of labour. As tobacco production expanded beyond the capacity of the labour power available in household, tobacco farmers started reproducing and adapting the forms of labour recruitment they had themselves experienced in Malawi. In doing so, the exploitative elements in the labour relations were reproduced and adapted to the new setting.

In the years that tobacco has been farmed in Angónia, production has grown rapidly. Tobacco is now the main crop produced in the district and roughly a third of the population is growing tobacco under contract. This has resulted in further social differentiation. At present, the agrarian structure in the district is characterized by social classes in different relations to one another: a group of farmers that predominantly hire labour, a group of farmers that only marginally hires labour, and different classes of labour. This transition is summarized in table 8.1.

Table 8.1 Tobacco farmers, dominant productive dynamics

	<i>Predominant productive activity</i>	<i>Relation to the means of production</i>	<i>Class position</i>	<i>Labour balance</i>
Late Colonial Period	Agricultural commodity production for domestic market (beans, potato), food production and long distance periodic migrant labour	Own land and labour migration (destinations: mines and estates)	Petty commodity producers and labour migrants	Net hire-out
Wartime Forced Migration	Agricultural wage labour in the production of export commodities	Landless, land owned by tobacco estates	War-time proletarians or 'Worker-refugees'	Total hire-out
Post-war decades	Farming in production of export commodities (tobacco) and food production	Own land	Farmers (petty commodity producers, petty capitalist farmers)	Net hire-in

(Source: STFA)



## 8.2. Classes of labour in tobacco farming

Three very distinct labour categories were observed in Angónia. The terms in individual contracts may vary slightly, but as will be clear in the following description, each category has different functions and caters to different demands. While interviews with *ganyu* workers were easy to arrange, it was relatively difficult to have interviews with *seasoni* and tenants. During fieldwork it proved impossible to have individual interviews with workers without the presence of members of the farming household, or without putting the workers in a compromised position. Every effort was made in order to be able to interview workers without the employer, or someone from the household being present. However, in the Mozambican rural setting and in smaller units of production it is extremely difficult to set up the conditions for individual or confidential interviews. There is also an ethical question to consider if workers are put in a compromised position, or are interviewed despite their misgivings (Cramer et al. 2008, 2014). There are consequences for the worker if the employer suspects that work-place abuse was reported. For these reasons the description of the categories and of the tensions in the relation between farmers and workers had to rely predominantly on the interviews with farmers. of the ethics of positionality when using information provided by employers to understand the pressures experienced by the workforce.

### 8.2.1 *Ganyu*, casual labourers

The most common form of hiring labour in Angónia is what locals call *ganyu*. The name calls for an explanation: in different parts of Mozambique casual task-based hired-in labour is referred to as *ganho-ganho*. The name has been ‘Chewanized’ and its use has expanded to Malawi. Historically, *ganyu* has come to displace unpaid labour exchanges that used to take part within the lineage and among neighbours. As a result of long-distance male labour migration, farming households became more dependent on the contribution of casual hired labour. In the late colonial period, wealthier households hired casual labour. This could mask relations of solidarity within the lineage, but gradually reciprocity and

payments in kind were replaced with cash payments, although vestiges of past practices persist.

One particularity of *ganyu* hiring in Angónia is the reluctance of farmers to hire family members. Of the 41 respondents that provided information on hiring family members, only five had a positive impression. Among those hirers of *ganyu* that do not hire family members, the reasons adduced included that family members would be jealous or difficult to manage as they would “behave as if they owned the place”. In some cases family members were busy with their own tobacco, while in others family members were not in need of lowly *ganyu* wages. In matrilocal households and farms managed by the husband, there is an interesting dynamic: in some cases husbands are the managers of the farm, but the land is owned by the wife’s lineage. If the household lives far away from the husband’s lineage, not only is he unable to recruit members of his family as *ganyu* workers, but in fact the complaints that family members (that is members of the wife’s lineage) are difficult to discipline because they feel as if they were the owners have a different implication. Indeed the members of the family have good reason to feel entitled. The labour relations of *ganyu* labour in contract farming in Angónia seemed removed from the description of *ganyu* on the Malawian side of the border where it appears as a form of solidarity with affines (Englund 1999, Bryceson 2008).

*Ganyu* labour is hired to complement the households’ own labour power in labour-intensive tasks and during peak periods in the agricultural and post-harvest cycle of tobacco. *Ganyu* can also be recruited for work not related to tobacco. Because *ganyu* labour is seen as a complement, tasks can be simple and do not require much monitoring. *Ganyu* can be used in clearing the fields, weeding maize or tobacco, transporting tobacco leaves from the fields to the barns, sewing tobacco leafs for hanging, or making tobacco leaf bundles (typically women) and bales (mostly men).

Adults and children, women and men can all be hired for *ganyu*. Payments are completed after the task is done, so a vigorous adult may take just one day clearing a section of a field, whereas a youngster may take two days, but they are paid about the same amount for the complete task. For some villagers *ganyu*

work is a form of getting some extra cash, while other households are in certain periods of the year critically dependent on *ganyu* income. *Ganyu* work is done by members in the poorest households and doing *ganyu* is linked to having a low social status. In a good *ganyu* assignment an adult can earn 80-100 Meticaïs in a day. However, *ganyu* work is rarely hired continuously for more than a few days. All but the very poorest tobacco farmers are hirers of *ganyu*, but most have not done *ganyu* themselves since they took up tobacco or much before that. Only among the poor farmer category are there respondents who hire out as *ganyu*. Most tobacco farmers do not hire out because *ganyu* wages are meagre. If cash is needed other income generation activities are preferred to doing *ganyu*. Furthermore, farmers are busy tending to their own tobacco.

However, the most important feature of *ganyu* labour – what distinguishes it clearly from other forms of labour mobilizing - is that *ganyu* workers are neighbours or live in the environs of the farm where they are working. This determines the type of labour relation: *ganyu* labourers do not need to be accommodated or fed and can be hired on demand. When tobacco farmers consider they need help to complete a task, they let it be known to those neighbours who are available for *ganyu* that they will need help late in the afternoon or early in the morning. The task and pay are agreed and work begins. Payment is usually in cash, but it can also be a mixture of cash and maize or cash and mealie meal.

There are drawbacks to the flexibility of hiring *ganyu* labour for tobacco farmers. *Ganyu* is cheap and easy to engage, but with no contractual arrangement, *ganyu* workers cannot be ‘fixed’. *Ganyu* workers will work for the best paying employer on a day by day basis. Depending on their income generating activities, they become unavailable when they have to tend to their own fields. During peak labour times in the tobacco season it is challenging to find available *ganyu* workers. With many phases in tobacco production being time-sensitive, the need to guarantee a stable supply of labour power has led farmers to opt for other types of labour arrangements.

The majority of the tobacco farmers in the sample hire *ganyu* workers (61). Some hire only *ganyu* workers, while others hire them in combination with

*seasoni* or tenants. *Ganyu* workers are hired on an ad hoc basis and in relation to the task and the capacity of the farmer to pay for the work. Furthermore, because *ganyu* is always task-based, there is no standard unit for measuring *ganyu* labour (see Cramer et al. 2008, 2014). It is challenging to quantify the amount of *ganyu* used in a farm throughout the year. The solution in the survey was to ask the farmers how many *ganyu* workers would he or she have working on tobacco during the peak labour time in the preceding year. Such information does not account for the highly variable and seasonal nature of the demand for labour, but makes visible a work relation that very frequently remains invisible in the literature about rural labour markets in Mozambique. The high number of average *ganyu* workers hired during peak time (4.9) gives a good idea of how labour intensive tobacco is at peak labour times.

Table 8.2 Maximum number of *ganyu* workers hired in a day 2011-2012

Mean	Median	Minimum	Maximum
4.9	5.0	1	17

Note: the number of farmers in the sample hiring *ganyu* is 62 out of the total 102  
Source: STFA

### 8.2.2 *Seasoni*, seasonal workers

Seasonal workers hired by Mozambican farmers are a peculiarity of tobacco growing districts in the Malawi-Mozambique borderland. Other agricultural production systems that recruit seasonal labour in Mozambique – e.g. sugar cane and rice – are dominated by estates and plantations. In this respect tobacco growing regions are unique. In Angónia the hiring of seasonal workers is done by larger producers who farm an area that could not be operated using household labour alone, however all employers in the Angónia sample are farming households (except the commercial farm which recruited 5 *seasoni* workers). The incorporation of seasonal labour is indicative of farmers in a different class position in terms of their command of productive forces. Net hirers are generally wealthier farmers who produce more than a tonne of tobacco per year. Hiring a seasonal worker costs more than renting an additional hectare of land, making labour mobilization a crucial element in production. Wage rates for *seasoni*

workers were variable depending on the month in which workers arrive to Angónia. Among the 44 producers that reported hiring *seasoni* from September until the commercialization period, the average yearly wage for *seasoni* workers was 5,100 Meticais (Min. 3000, Max. 8,000). It is difficult to estimate the average cost of leasing a hectare of land because of the different settings and plot conditions. Among the respondents that reported renting cleared fields, the going prices for a year were 1,000-1,500 Meticais per hectare (STFA). It has been proposed here that in accordance with the importance of labour mobilization in the productive process, the capacity to hire labour is the most important determinant of total output and ultimately of socio-economic differentiation.

Farmers opt for recruiting *seasoni* as opposed to *ganyu* in order to a secure stable and reliable supply of labour power during the agricultural season. Labour shortages in peak moments can result in hefty losses. The capacity to ‘fix’ labour power into production is a particular feature of seasonal labour. But the dependability of seasonal labour rests on the fact that, with very few exceptions, seasonal workers are migrant workers. As was described for migrant refugee workers in Malawi, only when workers are far from their own fields can a double condition be satisfied: first, they are too distant to be able to help in their own fields and cannot appeal to avoidance strategies such as absenteeism (for these same reasons migrant tenants were preferred in central Malawi, as discussed in Chapter V). Second, because these migrant workers miss out on helping their households in the agricultural season, they and their households are ever more dependent on their wages.

In order to make the disciplining mechanism watertight, the payment for the whole period is held back until the end of the agricultural season. As will be discussed below, many of these labour categories were inherited from the experiences of farmers themselves as workers in Malawi during the war. The payment at the end of the agricultural season was not a feature encountered in Malawi, where *ticketi* workers had employment for most months during the year and were paid monthly. The comparison is illuminating: while in Malawian estates the disciplining mechanism was that *ticketi* workers had secured employment (in a context where refugee Mozambicans had no land of their own competing for their attention), in post-war Mozambique their labour force

equivalents - *seasoni* workers - are only guaranteed employment for approximately 9 months. The way in which Mozambican farmers ensure that they stay for the duration of the agricultural cycle (September to June), is by delaying all payments until the end of the year. Other reasons may intervene, and this may not necessarily amount to a deliberate strategy on the part of farmers. For example, tobacco farming in Mozambique is characterized by high levels of illiquidity, with farmers being given a one-off payment in the year by the company. Most tobacco farmers lack the financial capacity to pay their labour force on a monthly basis. But the coexistence of *ganyu* labour side-by-side with *seasoni* labour strongly points at a strategic combination of the labour supply flexibility of *ganyu* with labour supply stability of *seasoni* workers.

Table 8.3 Total number of *seasoni* workers hired during 2011-2012

Mean	Median	Minimum	Maximum
2.75	2.00	1	14

Note: the number of farmers in the sample hiring *seasoni* is 53 out of the total 102  
Source: STFA

From the perspective of the farmer the hiring of *seasoni* workers involves risks. *Seasoni* workers' wages are the main component of fixed production costs. Once recruited, workers have to be paid regardless of the outcome of the harvest, the price given by the company or the farmers' final revenue. In the contract farming model, agricultural risk has been shifted onto producers and it is not certain that farmers will break even every year. In order to stay afloat, some farmers become heavily indebted and the pressures of the system are transmitted to the relations between employers and workers. The production process is fraught with this type of tensions.

The recruitment and management of seasonal labour is complicated and expensive. At the end of August, before the seedbeds need to be prepared, farmers from Angónia set out to Malawian districts to recruit workers. While Malawian districts are preferred, migrant workers from other parts of Angónia are also hired. One reason why Malawian *seasoni* may prevail over locally recruited workers is the exchange conversion rate between the Metical and the

Kwacha and the comparative price levels in Mozambique and Malawi. Many respondents claimed that wages in Meticaís that would be unattractive for someone living in Mozambique are more favourable for households with expenditure in Kwacha and compare favourably to wages in Malawian agriculture. Since the majority will only hire a couple of workers, it is usual for farmers to go to the districts where they have connections: relatives who stayed behind in Malawi, or people the farmers befriended as refugees during the war. Using their kin and friendship networks they find suitable candidates. *Seasoni* workers are for the most part unmarried young men. Farmers interviewed valued the process of getting to know the workers' families, and this could be interpreted simply as paternalism. From the interviews conducted it seemed rather a way to discourage foul play on either side. Because farmers and workers are bound by a network of personal connections, workers are disinclined to escape the contract mid-term and employers feel compelled to treat the workers with fairness. However, as the demand for migrant labour in Angónia seems to have been stable for some years, more and more it is migrant workers that come to Angónia on their own. They exchange information about good and bad employers and they have a margin of manoeuvre for closing better deals.

Because *seasoni* workers are migrants, the farmer provides them with food and accommodation. In smaller family farms with fields nearby, *seasoni* workers can sleep in a room in the households' house or in an annex in the compound. When the fields are far away, then farmers prefer to house the workers in the fields to keep an eye on the tobacco. In such cases the farmers will build thatch houses attached to the tobacco barns. Work in tobacco may be intense, but it is by no means constant. When workers are not employed in tending to tobacco, they can help with the maize and perform other tasks for the farmer. If the household has hired one or two *seasoni* workers, they will normally eat all their meals with the family. The farmer also provides the workers with other necessities and is expected to take care of the workers that fall ill.

The relation of the farmers and *seasoni* workers is very close. They work together in the fields, spend most of the day in each other's company and frequently also sleep in the same building. *Seasoni* workers are not necessarily seen as having lower social status. A number of couples in the sample met when

the man came to Angónia for a *seasoni* contract. In some cases, *seasoni* labour seems to have the potential to encourage exogamy and matrilocality. However, from the interviews with the tobacco farmers it could be gathered that there were tensions in the relation between farmers and *seasoni*. These tensions are indicative of the pressures experienced by farmers, their attempt to shift them onto the workforce and the limited but significant margin that *seasoni* workers have for resistance. For example, a discontent worker cannot leave the farm before the end of the harvest if he wants to be paid. If he deems it impossible to stay, it is not rare that he will steal a bicycle or some other asset to compensate the fact that he will lose the wages for all the time worked.

Except for the largest producers, *seasoni* workers are hired in small groups of two or three workers. Tobacco farming is geographically spread in the fields which results in a fragmented workplace when compared with the plantation or estate model, making it virtually impossible for the *seasoni* workers to organize collectively to improve their condition. The peasant's union in Mozambique articulates its demands mainly around rights to land and finds it difficult to engage with highly informal agricultural sector workers (See UNAC 2012). In doing so, the rural labour force employed informally by Mozambican farmers and dependent on wages goes unrepresented. The forestry workers' union is very active among the formal workforce of the tobacco company, but is not able to represent the more numerous informal labour in tobacco (SINTAFE, interview). In view of these conditions *seasoni* workers' only means to resist are individual and disarticulated.

Seasonal agricultural labour arrangements are rare elsewhere in Mozambique. They have been introduced in the tobacco sector, because most farmers had direct experience with similar labour categories as refugee-labourers themselves or as members of households that depended on wages accrued in the Malawian estates during the war. The Mozambican *seasoni* worker is the local response to the Malawian *ticketi* of the pre-liberalization era: a dependable labour force, fixed into remaining available during peak labour times by the distance that separates them from their household and their own land. Some Malawian tenants and *seasoni* are landless, very much like the Mozambican refugees were in Malawi. The difference between *seasoni* and *ticketi* is the agricultural model in



which they emerged. While *ticketi* were hired en masse on large estates that could pay monthly wages and were closer to fully proletarianized labour force, *seasoni* is a labour category forged in contract farming hired by farming households. *Seasoni* are workers that expand the hiring household's own labour power and who, by hiring out, are likely depriving their own farming household of their labour power.

### 8.2.3 Tobacco tenants

The use of tobacco tenants is also a particularity of tobacco farming. No other agricultural sector seems to make use of tenancy arrangements in Mozambique. The number of tenants involved in tobacco production is unknown. The company does not gather this information and in the interviews conducted with their representatives it seemed clear that they prefer to think of the tobacco producers as family farmers rather than as labour employers. This appears as a corporate strategy to match the strong preference in the government's sector strategy and in agricultural policy circles for conceiving Mozambican rural producers as smallholder farmers using family labour. This impression was confirmed in interviews with agriculture sector officials both at national and provincial level (DNSA, Interview). The existence of tenancy arrangements in Angónia confirms that the agrarian structure of post-conflict Angónia inherited forms of the organization of production that Mozambican refugees experienced working in Malawi.

Tenants are migrant workers, like *seasoni*, working on a yearly basis. Tenant couples are typically allocated one to three hectares of land for tobacco. All the food consumed by the tenant family is provided during the agricultural year by the tobacco farmer and deducted at the end of the year from the payment for tobacco. Tenants are expected to get all the maize they need from the farmer. They rarely grow maize themselves mainly because they do not have access to land for this, but also because they need food during the tobacco agricultural season. They cannot delay their food consumption until their first maize harvest. Unlike *ganyu* and *seasoni* labour, tenancy arrangements involve only couples and exclude single men.

Tenants are not paid a set wage. They produce tobacco independently, on land provided by the farmer and it is the farmer who buys the tenants' bales at the end of the season. Regardless of their classification farmers pay a set price for bales. Expenses are discounted from the final price given for tobacco. It is difficult to calculate the farmer's mark-up, considering that the company pays a different price for different leaf classes, whereas farmers pay a flat rate to tenants. The practices vary from farmer to farmer. According to some tenants interviewed, the farmer pays them two thirds of the price that he gets for the tobacco from the company, but according to others the rate paid to tenants is 20 MTS per kg, below the 62 MTS per kg for the higher quality leaf type and markedly lower than all other types of leaf. Because tobacco plants produce different types of leaves, and the quality of the curing produces additional sub-categories, there is no average price for tobacco. In the annexes the 2012 table of prices offered by the tobacco company for different types of leaf has been included.

Some of the tenants interviewed themselves hired *ganyu* and *seasoni* labourers for work in tobacco. In this sense they represent a good example of the recursive exploitation discussed in Chapter I, in that they are the outsourced producers of tobacco, hired by the farmers who are themselves contracted by the company.

### 8.3 Conclusions

This chapter has argued that there is continuity between the colonial and war-time labour experiences of present day tobacco farmers in Angónia and their current hiring practices. It also described in detail the predominant labour categories in tobacco. It has been argued that the labour history had created pressures towards proletarianization that did not result in the outright emergence of a class of free labour, but did contribute to transforming labour and property relations in production. However if the proletarianization of tobacco farmers is in some respect arrested, this is not the case for tobacco workers. *Seasoni* and *ganyu* workers, although for the most part Malawian, are now likely experiencing pressures towards proletarianization similar to the ones that operated in Angónia for decades.

Contract farming has contributed to sustaining the integration of Mozambique and Malawi and expanding the trans-border labour relations. It could be argued

that contract farming has had the effect of accelerating the commodification of labour, also as women in Angónia are becoming more involved in the production process. Over the past two decades, the labour hiring balances of tobacco farmers have changed. The emergence of these different labour hiring categories is indicative of this change. Finally, the way the Mozambican labour categories mirror the old Malawian ones can be interpreted as an attempt at reproducing forms of surplus extraction that are effective, because they are exploitative.

## **Chapter IX: Socio-economic differentiation and class formation in contemporary Angónia**

Forced labour was legally abolished in Mozambique five decades ago. The colonial period came to an end in the 1970s. In the 1980s the Mozambican civil war came to Angónia and after a few years of war the majority of the district's inhabitants had fled to Malawi. The population of the Angónia highlands has lived against the background of accelerated historical change. Every one of the respondents in the survey of tobacco producers has a life story shaped by these processes. More importantly, the households and kinship groups that constitute the social units organizing property, production and reproduction in Angónia have been formed, de-formed and trans-formed by their political, spatial, social and economic manifestations. At the time of the fieldwork in Angónia the highlands were experiencing a quieter but no less significant revolution. For the first time, the agrarian structure is almost entirely dedicated to the production of agricultural commodities for export; contract farming and the reversal of outmigration transformed the livelihoods of households that became full-time agricultural commodity producers after decades of combining farming with periodic labour outmigration.

The adoption of tobacco was facilitated by agro-ecological conditions, demographic concentration, the structure of property with thousands of independent farmers who have secure access to land, and the relative isolation of the district that until recently prevented the trade in more time-sensitive commodities. If on the face of it these reasons appear technical and deterministic, they are on the contrary all linked to socio-historical processes of spatial production shaped by the agrarian structure in Angónia. Ultimately, it was not the newly adopted commodity bringing about the transformation but it was the way relations among groups and individuals around property and around the organization of the productive process were being redefined in the post-war period.

The processes of proletarianization and commodification bridge the organization of agricultural production during the colonial and post-independence period in

Angónia with the contemporary agrarian regime. The resilience of lineage-based forms of land allocation through the colonial period was compatible with households that became predominantly dependent on labour migration remittances to finance their agricultural production. In the post-conflict period contract farming was introduced. This is a form of organizing production that does not require massive land reallocation. On the contrary, it seems to prosper on the basis pre-existing land management institutions. Proletarianization and commodification (now increasingly of land) continue to shape social relations of production, but their character has changed.

This chapter proposes that the introduction of tobacco under contract farming would have had the effect of reversing the historical pattern of proletarianization of a group of producers that now reproduce themselves as tobacco farmers. This would help explain how labour out-migration – so very important in Angónia since the late 19th century (see chapters IV and V) has been for the most part replaced by labour in-migration to the district. However at the same time and mainly through the growing commodification of production, a considerable degree of social differentiation is observed, which created not only differentials within the tobacco farmers in terms of income, wealth and output but also complex relations of dependence and exploitation between different types of farmers and different categories of workers employed in tobacco.

This study focused on social differentiation in order to show that the relations of production in tobacco agriculture in Angónia are more complex and riddled by contradictions than the presumed simple opposition of small-holder farmers and agricultural trading company. Indeed, it is the very different position of tobacco farmers (vis-à-vis land, labour mobilization, credit, risk, etc.) as well as the interrelation of farmers and tobacco workers that determines the character of the prevailing agrarian production relations in contemporary Angónia. As discussed in Chapter II, it is the peculiar configuration of these oppositions – for example between Mozambican farmers and Malawian migrant workers, landlords and tenants, households that hire-in labour and households that hire-out – what constitutes the constellation of conditions that make tobacco possible in this borderland. But the diversity and opposition of groups and interests also means that the overall effects of tobacco are not homogenous. Labour-deficient

households for instance will experience tobacco differently than labour-abundant households and in both cases the capacity to mobilize non-family labour will expose households to different possibilities and risks.

This final Chapter proposes a method for the analysis of agrarian classes emerging in Angónia which draws on agrarian political economy and is based on their relations of production. The chapter starts by discussing alternative conceptual frameworks and methodologies to measure and analyse social differentiation based on income and asset ownership and goes on to present the model adopted here, based on labour exchanges.

### *Evidence and drivers of social differentiation*

From the outset, it is necessary to acknowledge that there is no compatible baseline to support insights about the overall rate of differentiation and the effect of tobacco therein. However, discussions with the interviewees as well as observations in the literature coincide in that the very significant stratification discussed in this chapter was not prevalent in Angónia before the expansion of tobacco and that it is linked to processes of accumulation and dis-accumulation within tobacco production, on which more below.

While an accurate measurement of historical differentiation would entail considerable technical difficulties and multiple possible biases, contemporary patterns of differentiation can, on the contrary, be investigated. The chapter discusses in detail the evidence of this differentiation and its likely drivers. The evidence of existing differentiation is robust enough to reject the portrayal of the population of Angónia as an undifferentiated peasantry. Within tobacco farmers very distinct groups are found including some that are accumulating land and that produce large quantities of tobacco either directly or via tenants; some that produce enough tobacco to reproduce themselves as farmers and some marginal farmers who derive their income from wage-labour as well as tobacco and struggle to remain tobacco farmers. The different classes of tobacco farmers are the owners of the land and the hirers of the workers introduced in Chapter VIII.

Without a baseline, great caution must be exerted in the identification of drivers of differentiation. As the chapter will show, there is a correlation between the

main socio-economic indicators addressed in this study and the class structure proposed here, based on the producer's property and production relations (Bernstein 2010). The categories proposed here are congruent with the groups' mobilization of labour, their access to land, the average area planted in tobacco and their tobacco revenue, making it possible to relate this present-day differentiation with tobacco farming. On the basis of the interviews more structural drivers were identified, such as war-time differentiation linked to the labour-market participation as refugees in Malawi.

By the time the tobacco company started operating the concession in Angónia it was already clear that not all farming households had the capacity to overcome the entry barriers for a household intending to adopt tobacco. These include having access to sufficient land and labour time in order to expand tobacco production without detracting from the household's food production requirements and in some cases also continuing to allow for the production of other commodities with a shorter turn-around process. There are other conditions that determine whether a household is in a position to engage in tobacco. Tobacco is a monopsony, so the farmer has to be accepted in the scheme in order to sign a contract with the tobacco company. This is the condition for receiving seed and inputs on credit. The acceptance of a new farming household into the scheme is decided by the company's zone managers. Personal connections and a clean financial history with the company are sometimes necessary to be accepted into the scheme.

To take up tobacco farmers need a capital fund, the means to sustain all the households' productive activities and reproductive needs during the period of production of tobacco. This is the case because tobacco contracts involve a single payment, at the end of the commercialization campaign. Work in tobacco begins with the preparation of the seedbeds starts in September, but final payments are due in June-July of the following year. Throughout the period, households need to cover the food bill and if necessary pay for hired-in labour. Tobacco farmers also need an insurance fund or a fall back option. This is critical when the harvest fails and the prices offered by the company are disappointing. Not many farmers have this fund. Many large and mid-size

farmers have abandoned tobacco after a disappointing year. Even the largest farmers are in some cases heavily indebted to moneylenders.

Under these conditions it is unsurprising - as reported by the respondents - that despite tobacco offering higher revenue per hectare than other cash crops many farmers in Angónia are excluded from tobacco because they lack access to enough labour, land or an investment fund. But these requirements for tobacco production also cause differentiation within tobacco farming: the preliminary descriptive statistics of the STFA revealed considerable differences within the sample of tobacco producers. These differences are more striking in the case of land-holding size, area cultivated in tobacco, final revenue and the possessions and assets owned by the respondents and their households.

The analysis of socio-economic differentiation is based on data stemming from the survey of tobacco farmers. Social differentiation is manifested in the living conditions and social relations of the respondents and their households. While these observations cannot simply be extrapolated to represent the social dynamics taking place in the Angónia highlands as a whole, they are likely indicative of the experiences of the vast majority of the population that is engaged directly and indirectly in the production and processing of tobacco.

The chapter starts by linking the historical process of social differentiation and the contemporary dynamics spurred by the tobacco boom. It then moves into a discussion of the relative advantages of different methods to describe and analyse social differentiation. The chapter justifies the preference for a classification of tobacco producers in terms of their labour relations and uses the ensuing typology of classes of producers to analyse the productive profiles of the respondents. The chapter examines the agrarian class structure in tobacco production and explains the relations that sustain it.

## **9.1 Social differentiation past and present**

Processes of proletarianization and commodification involve a tendency towards the furthering of social differentiation. The logical culmination of this hypothesis in the case of contemporary Angónia is that the effects of the increasing



dependence of farmers on commodity production have been differentiated. There is evidence of social differentiation among the population of Angónia at the end of the colonial period in the literature (CEA 1983a, 1983b, O’Laughlin 2002). This thesis gathered life stories of former refugees returning from Malawi and also found different patterns of accumulation and dis-accumulation during the Malawian decade. Among the respondents of the STFA survey there were some whose families attained positions of authority in Malawian tobacco plantations or found other means of accumulation. Some of the respondents managed to form an investment fund in the years preceding the return to Mozambique and the adoption of tobacco. Groups of accumulators had the means to clear fields and restart agricultural production. Some of the producers were the first to get a bicycle, buy a cart and oxen or set up an engine mill. This gave them a head start in the period of reconstruction of agricultural systems. Other households did not have access to wage-employment in Malawi, or depended on petty trade. Some found it challenging to make a living as refugees and returned to Mozambique empty-handed.

In all cases, a more accurate measurement of this historical differentiation would entail considerable technical difficulties and multiple possible biases. That wage-employment in Malawi may have helped some Mozambicans to save, acquire skills and to more easily engage in tobacco farming in the post-conflict period was an observation derived from the in-depth interviews with respondents. However, the data in the survey does not imply that war-time employment is a predictor of larger output in post-war tobacco farming, other than for the older cohorts. The inconclusive results may warrant further research, but may be in part due to the overrepresentation in the sample of producers who were too young to work during the war. More than two decades after the end of the war, a more accurate retrospective measurement of war-time differentiation dynamics may prove simple unfeasible. It anyways remains clear that the majority of the households in our sample that were displaced to Malawi engaged there in wage-employment and that this experience was peculiar to displaced Mozambicans indicating a clear difference with districts in which the population did not flee to Malawi. Tobacco production today is concentrated in districts in which most of the population took refuge in Malawi, but more research would be necessary to

link these two observations causally. The other well documented transformation was the

Contemporary patterns of differentiation can, on the contrary, be investigated. By the time the tobacco company started operating the concession in Angónia it was already clear that not all farming households had the capacity to overcome the entry barriers for a household intending to adopt tobacco. These include having access to sufficient land and labour time in order to expand into tobacco production without detracting from the household's food production requirements and in some cases also continuing to allow for the production of other commodities with a shorter turn-around process. There are many non-technical conditions that determine whether a household is in a position to engage in tobacco. Tobacco is a monopsony, so the farmer has to be accepted in the scheme in order to sign a contract with the tobacco company. This is the condition for receiving seed and inputs on credit. The acceptance of a new farming household into the scheme is decided by the company's zone managers. Personal connections and a clean financial history with the company are sometimes necessary to be accepted into the scheme.

To take up tobacco farmers need a capital fund, the means to sustain all the households' productive activities and reproductive needs during the period of production of tobacco. This is the case because tobacco contracts involve a single payment, at the end of the commercialization campaign. Work in tobacco begins with the preparation of the seedbeds starts in September, but final payments are due in June-July of the following year. Throughout the period, households need to cover the food bill and if necessary pay for hired-in labour. Tobacco farmers also need an insurance fund or a fall back option. This is critical when the harvest fails and the prices offered by the company are disappointing. Not many farmers have this fund. Many large and mid-size farmers have abandoned tobacco after a disappointing year. Even the largest farmers are in some cases heavily indebted to moneylenders.

Under these conditions it is unsurprising - as reported by the respondents - that despite tobacco offering higher revenue per hectare than other cash crops many farmers in Angónia are excluded from tobacco because they lack access to

enough labour, land or an investment fund. The preliminary descriptive statistics of the STFA revealed considerable differences within the sample of tobacco producers. These differences are more striking in the case of land-holding size, area cultivated in tobacco, final revenue and the possessions and assets owned by the respondents and their households. The next section discusses different methods for measuring social differentiation and compares their application to the sample of tobacco farmers.

## **9.2 Measuring and theorizing social differentiation**

### **9.2.1 Measuring income differentiation**

Population-based surveys designed to measure poverty collect information about households' income, consumption and expenditure. This is the most developed and widely used methodology for assessing households' socio-economic status and provides a baseline for proposing social categorization. However, population-based surveys are criticized conceptually for their overly monetary operationalization of the concept of human wellbeing and are fraught with technical problems around gathering accurate data on income and expenditure, such as misreporting of survey data, sample bias and limitations of a one-off observation to account for transitory shocks (Wall and Johnston 2008). In the academic literature on rural development a common way of classifying populations for the purpose of studying differentiation is the use of indices based on the size of landholdings, total output and income. One advantage of conducting research with contract farmers is that, unlike farmers deriving their income from trade in commodities sold in open markets, tobacco farmers receive a single payment per year from the tobacco company. This is convenient for the purpose of quantifying the household's monetary income, as respondents recall the amount received with exactitude and the reference period is straightforward. Conversely, gathering reliable information about household expenditure and consumption presented insurmountable obstacles in the context of Angónia, due in part to the sensitive nature of questions related to income, but mainly to the weak numeracy skills and the irregularity of expenditure patterns. Data on tobacco revenue only includes the responses of 85 farmers who were willing to

disclose their earnings. The data supports the hypothesis of advanced differentiation. In average, farmers in the top tobacco revenue quartile earn 14 times more from tobacco than farmers in the lower quartile (Table 9.1).

Table 9.1 Tobacco farmers by revenue quartiles (in Meticaïs)

	<i>Q1</i>	<i>Q2</i>	<i>Q3</i>	<i>Q4</i>
Number of respondents	21	21	22	21
Mean	<b>6,393</b>	15,426	34,318	<b>84,667</b>
Median	7,000	15,950	35,500	70,000
Minimum	300	11,000	23,000	47,000
Maximum	10,300	20,000	45,000	250,000

(Source: STFA)

However, there are obvious drawbacks to using current earnings in tobacco as a criterion for a classification of farmers. First, in the absence of objective criteria to establish the cut-off points between categories the classification becomes arbitrary. There would be no relation between the categories and the organization of production. Second, tobacco is not the only source of household income. Using tobacco revenue alone would result in a skewed categorization that would render invisible the varying contribution of non-tobacco income to different households. Third, tobacco earnings in the period of reference are a snapshot observation that may not accurately reflect the households' actual productive profile, indebtedness or accumulated wealth. Fourth, there is a long tradition criticizing income-based measures of wellbeing on the grounds of their tendency to obscure non-monetary forms of poverty (Ravallion 1996). For these reasons, although it is useful to analyse the data on tobacco earnings it would be ill-advised to use this variable as the pivot for the socio-economic classification of the surveyed households. Data on other variables that could also be used for the classification of farming households, such as total land-holdings, area cultivated in tobacco, or volume of tobacco production, have been discussed in previous chapters and will not be used for the classification of producers for the same reasons cited above.

### 9.2.2 Possession scores and asset indices

An alternative methodology has been developed for measuring welfare outcomes in cases in which data on income and expenditure is unavailable. Measuring households' ownership of durable assets has been proposed, and is increasingly used, as an indirect and reliable indicator of households' socio-economic welfare level (For Mozambique see Boughton et al. 2007). Data on asset ownership is more robust on methodological and theoretical grounds. The risk of recall problems is reduced and the asset portfolio of a household in any given time is a better indicator of longer-term economic status than current income or expenditure (Filmer and Pritchett 2001, Wall and Johnston 2008). In the construction of asset indices, a preconfigured list of durable household assets is given weights in order to calculate a household score. The most widely used method for establishing the weights in the index is called principal component analysis, a statistical technique for establishing the linear combination of variables that more efficiently captures common information and variance in the sample (Filmer and Pritchett 2001, Abreu 2012). Principal component analysis (PCA) yields coefficients for each asset component that are computed to the asset endowments of every household in order to construct the index.

There are known limitations to the use of principal component analysis. As Filmer and Pritchett avow, asset indices are not grounded theoretically (2001): PCA is a statistical construct to compress the asset data and it is used as a proxy in contexts where reliable data on consumption and expenditure is unavailable. Howe et al. (2008) also contend that results from PCA are not adjusted for household size, can be problematic when dichotomous rather than categorical variables are used and can be difficult to interpret or translate into policy recommendations. By assuming a linear relation between assets, principal component analysis remains strictly a measure of accumulated wealth but can neither measure economic dynamism nor contribute to explaining causal mechanisms. There is no distinction between durable consumption assets and productive assets, for example. The most convincing argument against the use of asset indices for the stratification of households in terms of this thesis is that asset endowments of farming households are completely blind to the relational

nature of property and therefore provide a poor starting point for the analysis of the class structure. This is the case because asset scores aim at the quantification of household wellbeing, whereas in contrast class analysis is interested in the relational aspects of the social division of labour and the ownership of the means of production. This is of crucial importance because the interest of this thesis in social differentiation is to use it as “an analytical tool for looking at the agrarian structure both at a point of time and in its evolution over time” (Patnaik 1976), rather than to construct a model of social stratification or income distribution (see Kitching 1980 for a critique).

### 9.2.3 Composite indices

Patnaik warned that no single dimension can meaningfully contribute to capturing the complexity of the class structure. A good classification of households engaged in agriculture would include, according to Patnaik, references to their position in relation to the ownership of the means of production, their position in terms of the exploitation of labour and a measure of their capitalist dynamism. Bearing in mind the critique of the traditional reliance in rural studies on landholding size as an indicator of class position Oya (2002) and Patnaik (1976, 1988), among others, propose the construction of composite indices. By incorporating different dimensions the ensuing classification should better reflect the complex relations in which households are embedded and their divergent accumulation trajectories. Oya constructed a heuristic device that includes scores for the following dimensions:

- Labour relations (ratio of reliance on hired-in labour versus family labour)
- Land ownership and use (bought and leased land as proportion of total land used)
- Index of capitalization (ownership of high value productive assets, use of modern inputs, etc.)
- Education level
- Wealth scores (balance between consumer goods and means of production)

For the purpose of this chapter such a methodology could have been used. The survey of tobacco farmers includes information for all of these dimensions, except for the quantification of labour-days by types of task and workers. However, there is an important disadvantage to the construction of this kind of composite index: decisions of the weighting of components and the cut-off points between categories are either arbitrary, or based on statistical aggregation, but not necessarily grounded in theory. To an extent this is inevitable even if only one dimension is considered. In Oya's case such a composite index is suitable because the intended aim of the exercise was to differentiate within classes of large producers in Senegal on the basis of their dynamism (capitalist and semi-capitalist producers).

For the categorization of households in the STFA it was decided to focus exclusively on labour relations, following Patnaik's observation that social differentiation is best captured by labour hiring dynamics, which applies very well in the case of Angónia. There are context-specific limitations for incorporating the other dimensions. Some examples:

- For obvious sampling reasons landlessness is not prevalent among tobacco farmers; total landholdings do not necessarily correlate with the area actually used in agriculture (see Chapter VII for the distinction between 'land' and *munda*, 'field').

- The incorporation of leased and bought land into production is concentrated in the agrarian frontier rather than distributed evenly within the sample, so is best explained as a spatial dynamic (as in Chapter VII).

- Education is to an extent not a good indicator of wealth or status in a district where most adults missed out on primary education because of the wartime migration and where the most economically dynamic areas are also those where there is no school, or other forms of service provision.

The following section details the alternative method used for the classification of farmers used in this chapter.

### 9.3 Towards an agrarian class structure in Angónia

The critical discussion in the previous section of different forms of stratification of farmers highlights the conceptual limitations of using external manifestations such as monetary income and accumulated wealth to understand economic and political relations in society. Class analysis in contrast is not concerned with establishing a breakdown of economic groups in society *per se*, but rather with identifying the social relations that allow the transfer of labour power and the accumulation in society, the dynamics that determine who exploits and who is exploited. The concept of exploitation is relevant to contemporary debates about development because it underscores the relational nature of the social structures that poverty, rather than seeing it as a mere shortfall in terms of entitlements. The key element here is the relation of producers to the means of production and the appropriation of surplus labour (Patnaik 1976, Kitching 1980).

On the basis of the information collected in the survey of producers, the type of class analysis attempted here emphasizes what Bernstein (2010) refers to as the “economic sociology of class”, that is, an attempt to understand social relations on basis of the analysis of the material conditions of production and reproduction as opposed to analyses that emphasize ideologies and identities of class (the political sociology) or combine the two approaches. This prioritization of the study of class dynamics in terms of the position of households in the productive process, their relation to the means of production (class in itself) does not preclude the importance of processes of identity formation that make workers and farmers organize in defense of their collective interests respectively (class for itself). But whereas the formation of classes with diverse and contradictory interests on the basis of their position in the productive process is evident and easily observable in contemporary Angónia, the political process of organization and struggle around those interests is not automatic at present. Tobacco farmers are aware of their struggle against tobacco traders around issues of tobacco classification, valuation and pricing, but their forms of resistance are not yet collective. Similarly, seasonal tobacco workers and tenants feel the pression exerted on them by the employers, but their resistance is uncoordinated. The emphasis of this study has been on tracking the land and



labour dynamics that shape production. Accordingly the class analysis proposed emphasises the labour process and the relation of different groups in relation to the means of production.

Using a typology of labour exchanges this chapter proposes a class structure in the production of tobacco in Angónia. This structure (presented in detail in Table 9.1) has the Tobacco Company at the apex, representing merchant capital that appropriates from the tobacco farmers via prices and indirectly from the labour hired in tobacco. Tobacco farmers have distinct class positions, depending of whether they hire in labour, what type of labour they hire (*ganyu* being cheaper and used more sporadically, *seasoni* requiring substantial labour costs on the part of employers and tenants requiring both capital and land). The other indicator of a household's class position is whether household labour is used in production. The typology proposes two main classes of farmers: *Petty capitalist farmers* (for whom hired labour is the main labour input) and *Petty commodity producers* (for whom household labour is the main labour input). The structure also includes three classes of labour (as discussed in Chapter VIII): *ganyu*, *seasoni* and tenants. In order to classify households according to the aforementioned criteria, all the households interviewed were given a score based on a simplified application of the methodology proposed by Patnaik in a study of Haryana (1988), which is explained below.

#### *Patnaik's 'Index of Exploitation'*

In work by Patnaik (1988) an index of *exploitation* was proposed as a tool for the identification of context-specific class structure. In Patnaik's analysis, the index of exploitation refers to the position of each unit of analysis (households, in our case) in their relation to the means of production and their appropriation of surplus labour. Patnaik's methodology is used in the study of the class structure in Angónia, with some adaptations to account for differences with the Indian context and for limitations in the availability of data collected for Angónia. In contrast with Patnaik's Haryana case, land rentals and landlessness are rare in Mozambique. In the adapted version of the model used here land ownership is not incorporated, since all the farmers sampled have access to land and land rent is not a channel for surplus appropriation. Instead the index of exploitation is

focused entirely on the household's labour balance and their hiring of the different types of labourers discussed in Chapter VIII. Similar adaptations of the model have been tried before. The changes introduced did not detract from the conceptual and methodological contribution of Patnaik's formulation but make it more sensitive to contextual specificities (Athreya et al. 1987).

The model conceptualizes the coexistence at the extremes of the agrarian structure of households that rely for production on hiring the labour of others and households that primarily rely on working for others to sustain the consumption needs of their family, as well as variations in between the extremes. Patnaik model includes two types of accumulation: accumulation through the direct extraction of surplus labour in the sphere of production, and accumulation through the appropriation of surplus product in the sphere of exchange. The distinction is retained here, as it allows for the inclusion of merchant capital – that is, the tobacco corporation that does not intervene directly in production, but accumulates in the sphere of exchange - at the apex of the agrarian structure in Angónia. Again, this is an important dimension also identified by Kitching (1980) and Harris-White (1990).

Patnaik proposes a labour exploitation ratio (E)

$$E = x/y,$$

where  $x$  = the net use of outside labour in the household (positive if hired-in, negative if hired out) and  $y$  = the family labour used in production. Households with positive and very high  $x$  and  $y$  close to 0 will have a very high  $E$  score, meaning that they are net exploiters of others' labour; households with  $E$  scores between 1 and -1 will hire in and hire out in roughly similar measure and households with a high and negative score will be on balance exploited as hired labour.

Now  $x$  in this equation is composed of net surplus extraction (in the sphere of production) and net surplus appropriation (in the sphere of exchange). as follows:

$$x = (\text{net surplus extraction}) + (\text{net surplus appropriation})$$

Net surplus extraction is the balance between hired in and hired out labour while net surplus appropriation is the balance of surplus appropriated in the sphere of exchange. For the sake of simplicity, net surplus appropriation refers only to the trading of tobacco between farmers and the company, and it is positive in the case of the company and negative for all tobacco producers that sell to the company. It represents the surplus that is appropriated by the company via prices, or as some prefer it it makes visible the ‘disguised labour’ relations between the company and the farming households (as discussed in Chapter II).

The survey of tobacco farmers in Angónia was based on interviews with farming households. The survey was unable to measure with precision the net labour days hired in and out throughout the year for reasons detailed in the following section. In the face of the inability to convert different types of labour exchanges into a single unit for measurement, the model is adapted here to use a dichotomic variable: *whether* households hire in or out in different labour categories, but does not compute *how much* labour is hired. The assumption here is that the three types of labour arrangements (*ganyu*, *seasoni* and *tenants*) are very distinct in terms of the intensity and the duration of the agreement, but also in terms of the labour costs for the employer. The application of the model to agrarian relations observed in Angónia yields the following structure:

Table 9.1 Proposed class structure in tobacco agriculture in Angónia

A. Tobacco company	Merchant capital (appropriating via credit on inputs and price system)
B. Rich farmers C. Middle farmers	Petty capitalist farmers (primarily exploiting others)
D. Small farmers E. Poor farmers	Petty commodity producers (primarily self-exploited)
F. A class of tenants G. A class of agricultural workers ( <i>seasoni</i> ) H. A class of casual workers ( <i>ganyu</i> )	Classes of labour (primarily exploited by others)

(Source: STFA)

The names used for the categories are widely used in the Kenyan and Indian literature. 'Rich farmer' is perhaps a denomination least used in Mozambique. It is used here to stress that the farmers in this category have very large landholdings which they do not farm directly, but lease out to tenants. More descriptive names could have been used in this study but the present names are intuitive and easier to recall, so long as the reader bears in mind the local characteristics of these categories as described below (Annex 6 includes four life stories illustrating the productive trajectories of farming households in each category).

Chapter VI examined the tobacco company as merchant capital appropriating indirectly from others' labour through exchange (Kitching 1980, 449). The importance of merchant capital in the process of class formation is supported by Harriss-White (1990) who argues that the role of merchant capital has been neglected in the study of the Indian context. Merchant capital in practice is enmeshed in productive and financial activities, to the extent that it cannot be considered a class on its own (1990, 101). In the Angónia case the tobacco company finances the production of contract farmers, and some farmers themselves finance the production of tenants. Because the company appropriates from all farmers via prices and the landlords appropriate from tenants, the incorporation of secondary surplus appropriation to Patnaik's adapted model in lieu of Patnaik's rent (which the tenants do not pay in Angónia) is warranted because accumulation and class formation are similarly happening in the spheres of production and exchange. Therefore, following the model, the foreign-owned tobacco company - which does not directly hire labour - appropriates indirectly from the farmers' work. Harris calls this form of indirect appropriation via prices 'secondary surplus appropriation' (1990, 100), but Patnaik rejects this term and prefers to refer to appropriation in the sphere of exchange as 'indirect surplus appropriation' (1988, 325). In sum, the tobacco company is a substantial if indirect exploiter of others' labour. Strictly speaking the tobacco company is indeed Mozambique second largest employer with 5,937 workers among which agricultural technicians and workers for the processing and manufacturing of tobacco lamina in the Tete plant (KPMG 2011). However, the analysis of this thesis is limited to the production and trade of tobacco leaf, excluding its later

processing. In this circuit, the company does not hire labourers because it relies entirely on contract farmers. The remainder of this chapter discusses classes B, C, D and E, that is tobacco farmers, while Chapter VIII already presented classes F, G and H, i.e. classes of labour in tobacco.

### 9.3.1 Classes of tobacco farmers

Following the methodology proposed by Kitching (1980) and Patnaik (1976), this classification of farmers in the sample of the STFA survey does not follow their stratification by output, yield or wealth scores but their relative position in the social division of labour. This is justified on two counts: on the one hand, it is consistent with the theoretical underpinnings of the main arguments in this thesis - which underscore the centrality of processes of proletarianization and the importance of labour relations – and, on the other hand, the analysis of the survey data shows empirically that the capacity to mobilize labour power is a very robust predictor of the level of output, wealth and productive dynamism of a household. Although Patnaik acknowledges that no single dimension can capture the class status of households accurately, it is suggested that labour relations are the most reliable index for categorizing rural classes particularly in contexts of low mechanization (1976). In the case of tobacco farmers in Angónia, including the other key dimension – the property of land - would be redundant, as all farmers have access to land. There are of course important differences as to the size of landholdings and the channels of access (discussed in Chapter VII), but considering that landlessness is not a salient characteristic in this agrarian structure, the exclusive reliance of labour relations to construct a proposed class structure is justified.

As mentioned before, the capacity to mobilize labour refers in this case to types of workers mobilized but not to the quantity of hired labour used in these categories. This is the case for two reasons. First, it would be extremely difficult to account accurately for labour-days by labour category in Angónia: *ganyu* labour is task based and the quantity of labour hired is in most cases impossible to translate into days. *Seasoni* labourers are contractually bound to remain on the farm until the commercialization period when they receive their final pay. This

is a disciplinary measure to ensure a stable labour supply, but this does not mean that *seasoni* labourers work every single day they are in the farm. Further, the tasks in tobacco have an irregular labour demand. *Seasoni* contracts aim to smooth out labour supply, because farmers that rely only on *ganyu* have a hard time recruiting workers in peak labour periods. Therefore, also in the case of *seasoni* counting labour-days is challenging. However, the labour days ‘appropriated’ by farmers through the incorporation of tenants are even harder to estimate in a reliable manner: the farmer does not know what labour inputs the tenant has used. Tenants are in all cases households with at least two adults, and it is not rare for tenants to hire *ganyu* labour. In sum, attempts to express all labour exchanges in labour-days would result in measurement biases. Second, a good reason to classify the farmers in terms of the kind of workers hired rather than the quantity of labour-days is that there is a significant quantitative difference in the labour productivity of the different categories. After controlling for area in tobacco, farmers that incorporate tenants have 31 per cent higher revenue per hectare than those who only hire *seasoni* workers and 61 per cent higher revenue than those who only use *ganyu* labour.

Using Patnaik’s methodology, two classes of farmers can be distinguished. First, there is a group of producers that can be best described as petty capitalist farmers. They own the land and are engaged in the production of commodities for the market. However, unlike petty commodity producers, most or all the labour they use in the production of commodities comes from hired workers. Among petty capitalist farmers, labour is also a commodity that is bought in the market. Labour hiring allows petty capitalists to extract surplus product from their workers. This is possible because petty capitalists control the conditions under which workers can produce. As will be explained in more detail below, in the case of Angónia this control takes different forms: for example, in the recruitment of migrant labour which is functionally separated from their own land, or by the contractual conditions of work that delay the payment of wages until the end of the agricultural period. To reiterate, the position of capitalist farmers means that not only do they control the means of production, but they control the conditions under which groups of labourers can produce.

There is a second class of petty commodity producers. They own the means of production, produce commodities for the market (mainly tobacco) and use their proceeds from tobacco to buy in the market the inputs and commodities they need to reproduce themselves as farmers. Most notably, production among these households uses mainly their own labour power (although some farmers hire *ganyu* casual labourers, their contribution is complementary to the household's labour power).

As a consequence of these conditions there is an important difference between these two classes of farmers. While for petty commodity producers the upper limit to how much they can produce is ultimately determined by the amount of labour available in the household, in contrast petty capitalist farmers are constrained by the amount of labour power that they are able to hire. As will be shown below, the coding of the labour exchanges in both categories is not limited to whether farmers hire labour or not, but to qualitative and quantitative characteristics of these labour relations. To the extent possible, the classification of farmers by their labour relations looks closely at the types and quantities of workers hired and the intensity and characteristics of the labour relations.

Table 9.2 summarizes the criteria used for the classification of households in terms of their labour relations. It can be noted that the classification revolves around whether labour is hired in or hired out, which types of workers are hired and the relative importance of hired-in labour vis-à-vis household labour in the household's tobacco production. The following section describes in more detail the differences in the organization of production among these groups of producers.

Table 9.2 Classes of tobacco farmers in Angónia

	<i>Distinguishing feature</i>	<i>Farmers in the Sample</i>
<i>Petty capitalist farmers</i>	<i><u>Hired in labour</u> is the main labour input in production</i>	
B. Rich farmers	Hirers of <i>ganyu</i> , <i>seasoni</i> labour and <u>tenants</u>	10%
C. Middle farmers	Hirers of <i>ganyu</i> and <i>seasoni</i> labour	42%
<i>Petty commodity producers</i>	<i><u>Household labour</u> is the main labour input in production</i>	
D. Small farmers	Net hire-in ( <i>ganyu</i> )	34%
E. Poor farmers	Net hire-out ( <i>ganyu</i> )	13%
(Commercial unit		1%)

(Source: STFA)

### 9.3.2 Petty capitalist farmers

The first class of tobacco farmers is constituted by those producers who mainly appropriate surplus from tenants and wage workers. This class includes farmers that also use their own family labour (Middle farmers) and other farmers that only use hired labour in the production of tobacco (Rich farmers). In both cases, however, farmers are mostly exploiters of other people's labour. Rich farmers rely mainly on tenants and middle farmers rely predominately on *seasoni*, migrant workers.

#### *B. Rich farmers*

Rich farmers are a class of producers characterized by recruiting tenant farmers, which demands a different organization of the productive process. Rich farmers are usually households with very large landholdings that they cannot farm directly. Therefore, rich farmers give tenants one to three hectares of land for growing tobacco and provide all the inputs and food that the tenants need during



the year on credit. At the time of commercialization, rich farmers pay the tenants for their tobacco bales and deduct the costs advanced during the year. When farmers hire tenants, they are shifting both the risks and the pressures associated with production to the tenant family, much as the tobacco company does with the contract farmers at a different level. In this respect the surplus appropriation by the rich farmers of the surplus produced by the tenants does not take place in production – as tenants are not *hired* by the rich farmers - but in the sphere of exchange: it is realized in the mark-up that rich farmers get between the price they give tenants for the bales, and that which they receive by the company.

Besides recruiting tenants, the rich farmers may also produce tobacco on their own using *seasoni* and *ganyu* labour, but they are distinctive because the majority of the tobacco they sell to the company comes from tenants. The surplus they appropriate is not mediated by wages in production, but by the price they give tenants for their bales. Using Patnaik's model, rich farmers appropriate more surplus in exchange than in production. The incorporation of tenants is both a testament to the importance and influence of the Malawian agrarian regime in Angónia, as well as a reflection of the technical limitations imposed by the relative lack of labour saving techniques in tobacco agriculture. Farmers with large landholdings are less likely to set up estates than to lease out their land to tenants. Angónia may be in the process of developing proto-estates, but for now, there is an upper limit to the area that can be farmed in tobacco under the same production unit, given the existing technology. For example, the commercial unit that was inadvertently included in the sample is an example of an estate-like unit of production, although it is not among the biggest producers of tobacco in the sample. It is owned by a family that lives in the capital and operated by a hired manager. All the farming is done by six *seasoni* workers that are recruited every year by the manager. During peak labour time it will also recruit *ganyu* labour in the neighbouring village.

Respondents in this subcategory were called rich farmers to highlight that they are among the most land-rich farmers in Angónia and that the thrust of the labour inputs they use come indirectly from tenants. Rich farmers not only happen to have larger landholdings and produce more tobacco but reported in

average revenue three times higher than the average farmer and up to 10 times higher than poor farmers (See tables 9.6 and 9.7). In fact, rich farmers do not work directly in production but act more as the general managers of their farming operation. Recruiting tenants involves complex logistical demands. Inputs and food need to be guaranteed for the farmer's household as well as for the tenant families. Three different types of rich farmers were found using different combinations of *seasoni* and/or *ganyu* labour on top of the tenant. All three types exploit predominately tenants. There are 10 rich farmers in the STFA sample. Most had two tenants, but one had 10 tenant families producing tobacco for him (See table 9.3). During the rounds of exploratory interviews a farmer with 42 tenants was found.

### *C. Middle farmers*

Middle farmers include a group of 31 farmers that combine *seasoni* and *ganyu* workers and a group of 12 respondents that only hire *seasoni* workers. As the following chapter will show, *seasoni* and *ganyu* are direct forms of labour hiring. They work on land operated directly by the farmer and obtain wages. In the case of Middle farmers, the farmer's household intervenes only marginally in production, they have a high *x* and low *y* and so are also net exploiters of other people's labour. Unlike rich farmers, middle farmers' high use of hired-in labour comes from their net labour hired-in and not from the labour they appropriate indirectly in exchange, as they do not buy tobacco from tenants, therefore in this case. This means that, in contrast to *rich farmers*, their surplus extraction is mediated by wages and takes place in the sphere of production.

*Seasoni* workers, are almost in every case long-distance migrants from Malawi. Farmers have access to the labour power of one or more adults for the entirety of the agricultural cycle. The labour contribution of *seasoni* labour is significant. One initial condition for the incorporation of these workers is to have access to an area of land that can accommodate the extra labour capacity in tobacco. Hiring migrant labour also means that these workers will have to be accommodated and fed throughout the year. Households that hire *seasoni* therefore tend to own larger landholdings and are able to produce large volumes of maize. *Seasoni* workers can be employed in maize-related tasks. Farmers will

anyway have to buy maize at some point of the year to complement their own production. For most of the respondents in this sub-category the lack of liquidity is particularly challenging because they are intensive farmers producing mainly tobacco. Even if they produce large volumes, payments come only once per year. Local moneylenders play an important role bridging the gap between the one-off payment and the constant need for cash to finance production. Households that hire *seasoni* labourers still intervene directly in production, but mostly overseeing the completion of the tasks. In some households that hire *seasoni*, the farming tasks may fall on the husband and the *seasoni* workers, while the wife will coordinate the food preparation for all and tend to the garden, a source of products with shorter turnover period. Household members will, for example, coordinate the agricultural activities on a daily basis, operate machinery or supervise the labour force. Patnaik does not consider this as manual labour (1976, A-85).

Middle farmers epitomize the trend towards the commodification of labour in that their reproduction as farmers depends on buying labour inputs. Without stable access to hired-in labour their livelihoods would be profoundly transformed and they would certainly have to scale down. Hiring *seasoni* is expensive and there is always the risk of crop failure, a bad harvest or problems in the classification of tobacco. In this case the workers still need to be paid, but the farmer does not have the means to pay or does not recoup on the costs of production. On the other hand, the going wage rate for *seasoni* workers is a fraction of the added output that *seasoni* workers produce (see Chapter VIII). The hiring-farmers derive profit from the surplus labour they extract directly from the workers. Table 9.3 summarizes the labour relations among petty capitalist farmers.

Table 9.3 Detail of petty capitalist farmers hiring practices by subgroup

	<i>Hired in labour by type</i>			<i>Hire-out labour</i>	<i>Headcount in the sample</i>
	<i>Ganyu</i>	<i>Seasoni</i>	Tenants		
<i>B. Rich farmers</i>	YES NO YES	NO YES YES	YES YES YES	NO NO NO	4 4 2
<i>C. Middle farmers</i>	NO YES	YES YES	NO NO	NO NO	31 12
TOTAL petty capitalist farmers					53

(Source: STFA)

### 9.3.3. Petty commodity producers

After analysing the data using Patnaik's index of exploitation a group of 48 farming households have been grouped under the category Petty commodity producers. These households use family labour as the main labour component in the production of tobacco. A more granular look at Petty commodity producers results in two subgroups: small farmers (D) and poor farmers (E).

#### *D. Small farmers*

Small farmers mainly use family labour in the production of tobacco, but unlike poor farmers, they never hire out. These are primarily self-employed farmers. On balance, they are net hirers of *ganyu* casual labour but do not have the means to hire the expensive *seasoni* workers. In Patnaik's model, these farmers are net hirers of labour but the labour input from members of the household is greater than that of hired-in *ganyu* labourers. Therefore their E score is positive but close to zero, which means that they are marginal net exploiters of others' labour. This class of farmers includes, in the survey sample, 21 households that only

hire in *ganyu* labour. Another group of farmers has been included under this rubric, although their E score is close or equal to zero. This is a group of 14 households that do not hire any type of labour in or out, the closest there is to the abstract category of the petty commodity producer: they do not exploit others and are not exploited by others – in the sphere of production (Bernstein 1986).

The tobacco production of small farmers is constrained by the amount of labour available in the household, but can be complemented in some cases with casual *ganyu* labour. In the special case of households that do not hire in or out, they still have an advantage over *poor farmers* in that they concentrate the totality of their labour power on their tobacco production, without deductions for hiring-out. As table 9.6 shows, on average, these households also produce more tobacco than the poor farmers.

#### *E. Poor farmers*

Unlike other groups of households in the sample, poor farmers engage in tobacco production but also depend on selling their labour power to other producers. In their agricultural production they make use exclusively of the labour available in the household. They do not produce enough surplus to pay for much hired-in labour and, on the contrary, at different times during the year they need to sell their labour power. Therefore, farmers in this category tend to have a negative labour balance. Therefore, although the family labour contribution to production of tobacco may be substantial, overall their E score is negative. Of the 13 poor farmers in the STFA sample, ten hire-out only and three hire in and out (Table 9.4).

In some cases marginal farmers sell their labour power only in lean periods, while in other cases their labour power is divided between their own production and working for wages (for example, when husbands take care of most of the tasks related to tobacco, while wives work for neighbours on a casual basis). The central feature in the productive profile of this group is that total output is limited by the amount of labour available in the household, minus the labour power that the household sells to other farmers. These tend to be the poorest households in the sample of tobacco farmers, also in terms of their total tobacco

output, revenue and their ownership of high-value means of production. Tables 9.6-9.8 show how the possessions, landholding size and average revenue of small farmers are all aligned with their class position as marginal hirers of labour.

Table 9.4 Detail of petty commodity producers hiring practices by subgroup

	<i>Ganyu hired in</i>	<i>Ganyu hired out</i>	<i>Other types of labour hired</i>	<i>Headcount in the sample</i>
<i>D. Small farmers</i>	NO YES	<u>NO</u> <u>NO</u>	NO NO	14 21
<i>E. Poor farmers</i>	NO YES	<u>YES</u> <u>YES</u>	NO NO	10 3
TOTAL petty commodity producers				48

As this section has shown, the use of labour relations as a criterion for the classification of farmers allows for postulating groups based on social relations, rather than on wealth scores. Although both Patnaik (1976) and Kitching (1980) warn that a class structure using this criterion may group households in very different in terms of wealth, landholding size, revenue and total output, the following section shows that the classification of farmers in the STFA following the labour relations criteria is congruent with the other dimensions. This supports the thesis that in the context of Angónia the main determinant of production at the household level is the capacity to mobilize labour. Tables 9.6-9.8 provide evidence to test the claim that labour mobilization in the model used here and adapted from Patnaik is a good predictor of output and asset possession among tobacco farmers.

#### 9.4 Wealth and dynamism in tobacco farming

The sample of tobacco farmers has been classified in terms of labour relations. Table 9.5 goes a step further to analyse the average number of workers hired in the three labour categories by the different classes of farmers. Since the

distinguishing characteristic of the *poor farmers* is their negative labour-hiring balance, it is unsurprising that on average they hired 0.8 *ganyu* workers in the production of tobacco. *Small farmers*, who also only hire *ganyu*, but have a positive labour-hiring balance hired on average 2.3 *ganyu* workers. Furthermore, the average number of workers hired is continuous, except for rich farmers who hire on average less *ganyu* workers than middle and small farmers. This could be because the hiring of *ganyu* by tenants is under-reported or because their hiring of *seasoni* workers precludes the need to hire *ganyu*. As Chapter VIII showed, there are both complementarities and incompatibilities between categories of workers.

Table 9.5 Average number of workers hired by class of farmers

	<i>Poor farmers*</i>	<i>Small farmers</i>	<i>Middle farmers</i>	<i>Rich farmers</i>
<i>Ganyu</i>	0.8	2.3	4.3	1.9
<i>Seasoni</i>	0.0	0.0	2.3	4.4
Tenants	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.9

\* Poor farmers are the only class in the sample that also hires out  
(Source STFA)

Analysing the average number of workers hired (Table 9.5) and the average area cultivated by classes of farmers (Table 9.6) side by side it can be noted that the number of workers grows continuously in relation to the area cultivated. This would have been predictable given the great labour demand of tobacco and the lack of labour-saving techniques.

There are stark differences in the access to land and the area cultivated in tobacco between different classes of farmers. Only 82 respondents out of the total of 102 in the sample had measured their land or agreed to disclose their total landholdings. There are extreme differences also in absolute terms. The respondent with the smallest landholding reported a farm of 1.5 ha, while the respondent with the largest landholding had 48 ha. As detailed in Chapter VII, two very different settings are being contrasted. In densely populated North Angónia there is considerable subdivision and few opportunities to accumulate land. South Angónia is the agrarian frontier that attracts those who have the means to invest in buying land and clearing fields to expand their production.

The differences in area cultivated in tobacco are also significant. The smallest tobacco field in the sample was 0.5 ha and the largest reported was a farmer with 12 ha in tobacco. Here it is important to bear in mind that the production of tobacco needs to be supported by a proportional amount of maize harvested per year, in particular when resident workers or tenants are incorporated. It is precisely among the land-rich farmers that direct tobacco production has a secondary role, while most of the tobacco sold is produced by tenants. These marked differences are also salient in terms of the final revenue in the cases reported (Table 9.7). A farmer who had experienced severe losses only received of 300 Meticaïs (£6) and the farmer with the largest revenue in tobacco (among those willing to disclose it) had a net gain of 250,000 Meticaïs, after input deductions and before paying wages (approx. £5,000).

Table 9.6 Landholding and area in tobacco

	<i>Poor farmers</i>	<i>Small farmers</i>	<i>Middle farmers</i>	<i>Rich farmers</i>
Average landholdings (ha)	4.4	7.5	10.3	18.5
Average area in tobacco (ha)	1.4	1.7	2.7	5.4

(Source STFA)

Table 9.7 Average tobacco revenue in 2012 by classes of farmers (Meticais)

	<i>All sample</i>	<i>Poor farmers</i>	<i>Small Farmers</i>	<i>Middle Farmers</i>	<i>Rich Farmers</i>
N					
Valid	84	12	28	37	7
Missing	18	1	7	7	3
Mean	34,223.81	11,133.33	17,042.86	40,891.89	107,285.71
Median	21,500	10,650	13,500	37,000	98,000
Minimum	300	4,800	300	1,050	45,000
Maximum	250,000	20,000	60,000	99,000	250,000

(Source STFA)

The distribution of durable consumer goods and high-value productive assets is also transitive among classes of farmers. Poor farmers practically own no productive assets other than land and basic tools and only a minority live in houses with a tin roof, glass in the windows and fire-baked bricks on the walls,



which are considered better housing conditions in Angónia. In contrast the majority of the rich farmers have access to electricity and many own productive assets. Notably all own motorcycles, an extremely useful tool that saves time in the coordination of the productive process. The capacity to purchase of consumer and capital goods was credited in the revenue from tobacco farming. This would lend support to the proposition that to a considerable extent, the profound differentiation in socio-economic terms among farmers is a direct consequence of tobacco farming.

Table 9.8 Farmers that own high value assets per category

	<i>Poor farmers</i>	<i>Small farmers</i>	<i>Middle farmers</i>	<i>Rich farmers</i>
Electricity	0%	17%	32%	60%
Tin roof	38%	46%	48%	50%
Glass window	38%	40%	57%	90%
Mobile	8%	11%	55%	80%
Motorcycle	0%	20%	52%	100%
Cart	0%	3%	16%	30%
Bank account	0%	6%	25%	70%
Plough	0%	0%	0%	20%
Car	0%	0%	0%	10%
Pump	0%	6%	9%	50%
Dvd	0%	3%	7%	50%
Satellite dish	0%	0%	0%	10%
Tv	0%	0%	9%	50%
Mill	0%	0%	14%	20%

(Source: STFA)

## 9.5 Conclusion

The analysis of the socio-economic data presented in this chapter supports the conclusion that the tobacco boom experienced in Angónia during the post-conflict period produced socio-economic differentiation. There is not sufficient data to support proposition that it was pre-existing socio-economic differentiation what determined which households could adopt tobacco and

which could not, but the productive trajectories in tobacco do point towards differentiation resulting from dynamics of tobacco production. This is further confirmed by the fact that tobacco revenues have been used in the acquisition of the most expensive and valuable productive assets and there is no evidence of accumulation trajectories in the other direction (households that first set up some other business and then reinvested in starting tobacco production).

Hypothesis 2 – introduced in Chapter III – argued that the household's labour balance would be the main predictor of its performance in tobacco production and that differentials in terms of labour mobilization would generate socio-economic differentiation. The main thrust of this chapter was to construct a model of socio-economic differentiation precisely based on the labour balances of the surveyed households. The hypothesis is confirmed because all the non-labour related indicators of performance in tobacco production (area under cultivation, total revenue and possession of high value assets) align with the groups of households classified on the basis of labour balances. Access to land, while necessary for accumulation in tobacco (see Hypothesis 1) does not in itself explain the considerable degree of socio-economic differentiation observed in the sample in terms of revenues and assets. This is an inbuilt characteristic of the agrarian structure: while all producers have access to land for production, not all units of production can hire in labour.

There is only a handful of works on Angónia and tobacco in the post-conflict period. For the most part this literature does not consider social differentiation. Neglect of social differentiation renders their reconstruction of historical processes blind to the contradictory effects and the interests in conflict. Post-conflict agricultural reconstruction in Angónia has not been understood, insofar as the idea persists that Angónia is inhabited by an undifferentiated peasantry. The literature on contract farming also presupposes that the impact of contract farming – whether positive or negative – is largely homogeneous on the farming population (See Benfica 2006). While indeed the district's production has expanded and now Angónia produces and sells much more than it has produced in any other period of its history, this intensification has foundations in exploitative forms of production. Tobacco production is based on extra-economic mechanisms of labour control and disciplining such as the pervasive

use of migratory seasonal labour and contractual conditions that were discussed in the previous chapter, but as we have seen among petty commodity producers and poor farmers tobacco is also based on the self-exploitation of unpaid labour provided by the household both in production and reproduction as much as the appropriation by tobacco traders of the land rent that goes unpaid and that would otherwise accrue to the household.

## **Chapter X: Conclusions**

This thesis proposed a reconstruction of the drivers and foundation of the tobacco boom in Mozambique that links this development of the past two decades with its historical background. In particular it examines the formation of the agrarian regime through the colonial period and the early independence years: the relations of use and transfer of land; the mobilization of paid and unpaid labour and the processes of commodification of land, labour and agricultural production. Such historical grounding, it is argued here, is central to understanding the development of the present form of organizing production – contract farming – and it has been for the most part absent from accounts of agricultural development in Mozambique.

The thesis casts a new light on the study of contract farming by using the processes of commodification and proletarianization as analytical pivots for understanding the effects that the expansion and reorientation of production towards markets had in different historical periods, in different regions and for different social groups in Mozambique. The case study analysed takes place in sites integrated to the largest contract farming scheme in Mozambique, but insights from this study have implications beyond Angónia, as it is estimated that up to 12 per cent of the rural population in Mozambique is engaged in some form of production under contract and contract farming in general becomes a private-led fix to the gap left behind by the rolling back of marketing boards, agricultural research institutes and state intervention in agricultural finance that characterized the liberalization of agriculture starting in the late 1980s throughout Southern Africa.

The limited literature on tobacco and that on contract farming in Mozambique, discussed in Chapters I and VI focuses on the dynamics of exchange between agribusiness and farmers. The prevailing methodological framework seeks to evaluate the impact of contract farming on small-holding farmers and in some cases the efficiency of the contract farming model as a tool for agricultural productivity growth and poverty reduction. However the framework is built on the assumption that small-holder farmers engaging in contract farming are a

homogenous group. In failing to recognize the variety of groups intervening in the production of tobacco and their contrasting positions and interests, the question for the impact of contract farming on producers becomes analytically weak, unable to pick up variables that explain different outcomes.

It was argued in this thesis that existing studies have two important shortcomings: one the one hand they neglect the historical processes that predate and shape the adoption of contract farming and, one the other hand, their framework fails to incorporate socio-economic differentiation among tobacco farmers and workers to the analysis. When examined in relation to the longer duration that extends from the colonial taxation and forced labour to the present, certain aspects of tobacco farming under contract are revealed as continuities of the previous agrarian regime while others are revealed as variations introduced knowingly or unwittingly by the tobacco corporation and by the out-growers. In the first case contract farming reproduces features of the agrarian regime that resulted in households and the state historically subsidizing the reproduction of capital (such as the state-sanctioned geographical concessions; the widespread use of unpaid domestic labour and the continued incorporation of migrant labour discussed in chapters VI to IX). In the second case contract farming has introduced adaptations that help overcome those features of the agrarian regime that were not amenable to the further penetration of commodity relations in the region (examples of those transformations include the emergence of vernacular markets for land; the introduction of a non-perishable crop that resists the long distance; the dismantling of the labour (out)migration system so that tobacco producers reproduce themselves mainly as farmers and no longer as labour migrants).

Two implications are derived from the processes of commodification and proletarianization that had shaped the formation of the agrarian structure since the late 19th century. First, the introduction of tobacco in the final years of the 20th century was founded on an already differentiated rural population in Angónia. Second, the magnitude of the contemporary socio-economic differentiation observed in the sample at the time of this study - almost two decades after the introduction of tobacco - clearly points to the role of tobacco farming in generating further differentiation. Chapters VII to IX measured and

analysed differentiation in terms of divergent patterns of income, of household participation in production, of labour hiring, of capital accumulation and asset acquisition, all patterns associated with the tobacco economy. Therefore, although a compatible baseline is unavailable, it can be certainly deduced that tobacco farming under contract has contributed to amplifying socio-economic differentiation.

In summary this thesis has questioned the validity of asking about the impact of contract farming in general and has advocated for a more granular analysis of the drivers and compulsions experienced by different types of farmers as well as by an awareness of the prominence of groups that intervene in production as hired workers. Such an approach however, should steer clear of claiming that – because tobacco farmers are differentiated and the effects of contract farming are diverse, there is no answer possible. What was proposed then was to examine side by side the nature of the process that consolidates social differentiation into emerging agrarian classes and the ways in which contract farming shapes and transforms societal structures of land management, labour mobilization and the organization of production. At this more structural level, and in relation to the historical analysis it seems clear that contract farming has had a range of generalized effects (e.g. the overall patterns of migration, agricultural productivity, orientation of production, penetration of capital), but also differentiated impacts on classes of tobacco farmers.

In regional terms, the rapid and sustained growth in tobacco production in Angónia heralded the end of the long-standing separation between the site of production and the site of reproduction. Tobacco farming households are no longer characterised by the combination of farming on own account and long distance periodic labour migration. This could be considered a case of re-agrarianization, or alternatively, a case of disguised proletarianization – albeit one that no longer requires outmigration (as discussed in Chapter I).

Contract farming unambiguously raised agricultural productivity in Angónia: It created channels of agricultural credit and market outlets for the bulk of the population that did not exist in this magnitude before tobacco and do not exist in other regions of Mozambique. Agricultural credit and the use of modern inputs

are strongly concentrated in tobacco growing provinces (Tete accounts for 59 per cent of the farms with access to credit in Mozambique and for 63 per cent of those that use fertilizer, as detailed in Chapter III). Tobacco agriculture has raised the demand for labour and is responsible for at least 20,000 seasonal jobs directly in tobacco farming; the more intense and more productive use of the labour force available in Angónia – integrated via *ganyu*, but also redirecting labour from households. There are also important sources of employment directly with the tobacco company in agricultural extension, transportation and logistics, classification and processing of the leaf. Finally, revenue from tobacco has allowed a small group of producers to gain access to additional land, to mobilize additional labour power and by resisting the liquidity constraints in tobacco farming, to accumulate capital through tobacco (Petty capitalist farmers). These households have reinvested the proceeds of tobacco in the acquisition of productive assets: oxen, flour mills, cars. They have diversified their sources of income and can afford the boarding of their children in secondary education. Although they constitute a minority of the tobacco farmers, such avenues for accumulation are not frequently open for Mozambican farmers growing other crops and in other regions.

However the overall impact of contract farming in tobacco remains uneven: as was detailed through different sections of the dissertation, the contract farming scheme has flourished precisely in these relatively remote hinterland regions because there are fewer commercially feasible alternatives for farmers and because, in the light of this veiled compulsion, farmers are not in a position to bargain for better prices or to demand a greater involvement of the state in defence of their interests. In fact, it is the very disintegration of the production process into over 20,000 household farming units in Angónia (as opposed to the estate model that predominates for example in sugar cane production in Mozambique), which creates barriers for the collective action of farmers vis-à-vis the tobacco company and among tobacco workers vis-à-vis their employers. This was discussed in Chapter I as the reason why, during the era of agricultural liberalization, agricultural capital that was characterised during the early 20th century by the estate and plantation model has given way to merchant capital in the 21st century. Multinational tobacco traders can command the totality of the

Mozambican production without having to go through the politically costly process of acquiring land or hiring labour. Through contract farming the risks and costs involved in the production of tobacco are wholly shifted to the farmers: everything from climatic shocks; land and labour mobilization; labour hiring and the households' costs of reproduction. This supports the claim that labour mobilization capacity –the labour balance – is the main differentiation determinant: farming households that are able to hire-in workers are shifting part of these costs onto that workforce.

It was a central insight of Chapter I that the outsourcing of production to farmers in Angónia has led to a more complex structure of surplus extraction and appropriation. Whereas in the estate model that characterized the population's earlier engagement during the time of *chibalo* but also as refugees in Malawi, surplus was extracted by capital through a labour relation; in contract farming surplus value is appropriated from the farmers by capital through the production contract and through the pricing system. A group among the farmers extracts surplus from the workers they hire. The analysis in Chapter VIII also found farmers who delegated part of the work in their land onto tenants who themselves hired casual or seasonal workers. This has resulted in a more complex class structure with instances of recursive exploitation.

To guide the research process around the dynamics of land and labour in tobacco production two hypotheses were formulated:

#### *Hypothesis 1*

*The adoption and expansion of tobacco, in so far as it represents a deepening of commodity relations, introduces a pressure for the commodification of land. The effects of this increased pressure are mediated by lineage-based customary land management institutions. Where lineage-based land management is more consolidated, limits to the transfers of land will translate into restrictions for accumulation on the basis of tobacco. Where lineage-based institutions are more flexible, accumulation in tobacco will not be limited by access to land.*

The adoption and expansion of tobacco agriculture accelerated a longer tendency towards the generalization of commodity relations. Households in Angónia had



been involved in the production of commodities since the colonial period; and the commodification of labour was substantially advanced during their exile in Malawi - where they became war-time proletarians. However it was the development of the tobacco economy in the post-war period what introduced pressures towards the commodification of land. Tobacco farming rests on the availability of land both for the actual production of tobacco, but also for the parallel production of maize that sustains the household, the live-in hired workers and can be a means of payment for ganyu workers.

The expansion of tobacco, at the district and household level, demanded a more flexible access to land and labour. However these increased demands played out differently in different parts of the district depending on the comparative presence and strength of lineage-based land management institutions. In those parts of the district in which lineage structures and institutions were more consolidated, it was more difficult to consolidate landholdings or to gain access to larger tracts of land. Although this did not prevent some accumulation at the household level on the basis of tobacco, it set a limit to its expansion. In such zones households that accumulated turned to a diversification strategy not based on extending their land holdings. In contrast, in zones in which lineage structures were less consolidated customary authorities were able to offer land for sale outside lineage mechanisms. The emergence of a vernacular market for land meant that accumulating producers could extend their holdings. This flexibility added to the mobilization in these areas of migrant labour and tenants, allowed for the expansion of production and explains the higher average size of holdings. In this second area accumulation is based on tobacco.

Furthermore areas in which lineage-based structures are more consolidated coincide with those areas which have been populated longer, are closer to markets and far more integrated in production. On the contrary, the zones in which lineage institutions are less consolidated are those farther from the population centres, relatively distant from markets and situated in the agrarian frontier. A social structure – lineage-based land institutions - is imposed over a geographical structure – integrated zones and agrarian frontiers - and a socio-spatial relation emerges. The spatially constructed difference between integrated and hinterland regions in Mozambique and its shaping of the political geography

of tobacco (discussed in Chapter VI), is mirrored at the district level with the concentration of tobacco production in the more remote area in which lineage structures are under-developed and where once again there are fewer alternatives for commodity production other than tobacco.

The comparison along Chapter VII between the clusters in North and Central Angónia – those more integrated – and South Angónia – in the agrarian frontier confirms the polarization of two production regimes, one characterized by smaller units of production, in which access to land is through lineage transfers to affines and where accumulation strategies are based on the combination of tobacco and other economic activities (the integrated areas of North and Central Angónia) and a different agrarian regime characterized by larger areas under production, a more intense use of migrant workers and tenants and accumulation strategies based on tobacco.

The data collected in Chapter VII also discards the counter-proposition: that those areas closer and more integrated to regional markets as well as with longer-established settlement have an advantage for tobacco production. The differences in the size of landholdings, area cultivated, use of hired labour and output - detailed in Chapters VII-IX - are pronounced and clearly hinge on the relative flexibility of the land regime.

### *Hypothesis 2*

*Contract farming represents a re-agrarianization of the livelihoods of groups of producers that had migrated for wages but had retained their access to land in previous periods. Access to land is a necessary condition for entering into a production contract, but it is the capacity to mobilize household and hired labour what will produce socio-economic differentiation in terms of revenue and asset accumulation.*

Contract farming - a form of organization of production in which direct producers are contracted to produce using their own land rather than hired as workers to be employed in plantations and estates – is presented in this thesis as a particularly efficient way in which capital manages to re-incorporate into the production of commodities those groups in Mozambique which had historically

combined periodic migrant labour while retaining their access to land in the post-war period when the old channels for labour migration dried up. In the present period of tobacco produced in contract farming two processes are unravelling at the same time: a furthering of the commodity relations (with the district reorienting its production toward export markets) and a process of reagrarianization (with producers specializing in contract farming and now recruiting migrant labour to work in tobacco).

One peculiarity of the regions where tobacco prospered in Mozambique is that these were areas in which a significant share of the population crossed into Malawi as refugees during the Mozambican civil war. Furthermore, these are relatively isolated zones, with comparatively underdeveloped marketing network in which tobacco may be among the only avenues for commercialization of agricultural production open to producers. Another condition observed during this research is that the farming households captured in the household had stable access to land. To the extent that land concentration and purchases are present, these have been made with the explicit aim of setting up tobacco production, but in none of the households survey was the complete lack of land the reason for land purchases.

What most strikingly differentiates tobacco farmers is their use of labour. Whereas farmers in one group rely predominantly on labour available in the household and are on occasion forced to sell their labour in order to complement their cash income, farmers in another group rely predominantly on hired labour. This group hires workers for longer periods and in more dependable arrangements (*seasoni*), even at the expense of higher labour costs. The average tobacco revenue of the group that hires tenants as well as other categories of workers in one extreme of the labour balance scale is almost 10 times as high as that of farmers that sell their labour power at some points of the year, which represent the other end of the scale. The household labour balance is proposed in Chapter IX as a reliable predictor of the likelihood that the household owns high value assets. In sum, whereas the availability of land determines whether households can accumulate in tobacco or not, the access to labour determines the extent of their accumulation.

### *Mobile Capital and reverse migration*

This thesis has argued that there is a structural link between the logic of accumulation in the colonial economy in Angónia - with its foundations on the mobilization of migrant labour to sites of production – and the contemporary system of generalized contract farming. The district remains a labour reserve but whereas during the colonial period agribusiness and mining capital required the physical displacement of the labour force, under contract farming, capital is more mobile and reaches the hinterland to set the productive process in motion.

Mining and agricultural capital pulled the labour force into estates and mines in the first period. In the second period merchant capital penetrated the hinterland to employ the labour force *in situ*. This process ran parallel to changes in labour relations. At any point throughout the colonial period an important proportion of the male population would have been away working for wages. This type of labour migration ground to a halt in the post-war period, making way for the employment of household labour on their own fields for the production of tobacco. This was complemented by mobilizing hired-in labour, mostly migrant and mostly from Malawi in unprecedented numbers in Angónia. Therefore, the post-war period is marked by the new capacity of capital to operate profitably in the hinterland and to mobilise the productive forces without directly intervening in production.

### *A more complex class structure, recursive exploitation*

The class structure in Angónia became more complex as a result of the expansion of contract farming. Contract farming introduced producers in Angónia to the production of high value export commodities. This created new demands on land and labour in the district. For example, in the absence of labour-saving technology and mechanized irrigation, land-rich farmers attempting to expand their output have introduced tenancy arrangements. Tenants add a new layer of surplus extraction, because in some respects they operate as small tobacco growers and frequently hire labour themselves. The political economy of tobacco in Angónia is now a multi-layered class structure of recursive exploitation in which the company profits from appropriating

surplus value from the tobacco producers in the sphere of exchange. Tobacco farmers realize their profits from the extraction of surplus labour from a hired-in and domestic labour force. Tenants complement the labour force mobilized from within *their* household with casual *ganyu* labour and migrant labourers are socially reproduced as a class at the behest of their households in the places of origin.

### *Mechanisms of compulsion*

Political and coercive mechanisms inducing or forcing the integration of the producers into the sphere of colonial accumulation gave way to economic mechanisms of market compulsion. The transformation was triggered by the collapse of labour migration options and the dearth of viable productive alternatives in farming. War, liberalization and the production of space have resulted in heightened dependence on market interactions and cash income. The tobacco concession, a political creation, also represents a form of market compulsion. The move is paradoxical because contract farming does entail the commodification of land and labour and the commercialization of production, but contract farming is not in itself an open market system.

### *The post-conflict transition*

The historical formation of an agrarian structure specific to Angónia and a few other border districts made these areas an ideal ground for the introduction of contract farming. This agrarian structure had relied historically on kin structures for the transfer and allocation of land; it had been shaped into a labour reserve and had sustained the shock of the war.

At the same time in Mozambique structural adjustment and liberalization dissolved the public institutions that provided inputs and marketing outlets before the war. At the time of their return to Mozambique, the refugees faced the challenges of resettling on their abandoned fields but also the combined pressure introduced by the collapse of public institutions, the constraints introduced by the destruction of the infrastructure that connected Angónia to the urban markets of central Mozambique, and the virtual extinction of the type of economy that demanded labour from the Angónia highlands before the war.

The thesis has argued that contract farming is compatible with contexts in which the main difficulty facing agricultural production is the mobilization and retention of labour and in crops with substantial peak labour times. Contract farming proved an extremely efficient way of mobilizing the labour force available in post-conflict Angónia as well as migrant labour predominantly from Malawi. As groups of producers started growing tobacco their hiring was helped by the relative absence of other outlets for seasonal and permanent employment; by exchange rate differentials and the specific pressures experienced by migrant labour coming from Malawi and by the sheer pressure to lower labour costs in order to appropriate a larger share of the final revenue.

Contract farming has raised the overall agricultural productivity of the district and has allowed a group of producers to accumulate. At the same time it has been based on the direct and indirect mobilization of cheap migrant labour. It has benefitted from the state-granted suppression of market competition that benefits the tobacco company, with no serious attempt on the part of the state to introduce mechanisms to guarantee that such benefits are equally transmitted to farmers engaged in tobacco agriculture. Tobacco contract farming is sustained with the contribution of unpaid household labour in productive and reproductive activities and on the incorporation of the land they own at no cost to capital. In this sense tobacco contract farming represents the continuation of forms of market integration in which Mozambican households subsidize the operation of capital.

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## **Annexes**

## **Annexes**

<a href="#"><u>Annex 1. Survey of Tobacco Farmers: Information leaflet for respondents</u></a> .....	324
<a href="#"><u>Annex 2. Survey of Tobacco Farmers in Angónia: Questionnaire</u></a> .....	325
<a href="#"><u>Annex 3. A note on types of tobacco</u></a> .....	334
<a href="#"><u>Annex 4. Burley tobacco classification system</u></a> .....	335
<a href="#"><u>Annex 5. Typology of tobacco farmers: Cases</u></a> .....	338
<a href="#"><u>Annex 6. Pictures</u></a> .....	340

## Annex 1. Survey of Tobacco Farmers: Information leaflet for respondents

### EQUIPA DE INVESTIGAÇÃO



Somos Helena Perez e Basílio Salha, estamos a trabalhar para a Universidade de Londres em Inglaterra. Estamos a fazer uma pesquisa sobre a cultura de tabaco no distrito de Angónia. Estamos a conversar com pessoas que cultivam tabaco nas diferentes localidades do distrito. Vamos entrevistarmos 200 pessoas ate Agosto de 2012. O nosso estudo é um trabalho da universidade, não tem objectivo comercial.

Se precisar contactar-nos ligue para o 84 71 87 641 o escriba a [235016@soas.ac.uk](mailto:235016@soas.ac.uk)

Se tiver queixas ou comentários pode contactar o nosso supervisor (só em Português): Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Económicos, em Maputo (tel: 21328894)



## **Annex 2. Survey of Tobacco Farmers in Angónia: Questionnaire**

Serial Number D-\_\_\_\_\_

Starting time:	Finishing time:		Localidade:	Zona:
Date visit:	Club:			

My name is Helena Perez. I am student from the University of London, in England. The purpose of this survey is to understand what factors are important for farmers in Angonia in their decisions of production. This interview will focus on your family history, agricultural production and land. You are free to decide whether you want to take part, we can stop the interview at any point and if there is any question you don't know how to answer, or do not want to answer please let us know. I assure you that the information you provide is confidential and will never be handed over to any third party (government or otherwise). Your name will not be used in my work; the data will be compiled with that of more than 100 other farmers that we are interviewing in this district. The interview will take about 1 hour. I am a student with no link to the government or any company. Other farmers have enjoyed taking part in this survey, but I must warn you that there is no reward for taking part.

Are you available and interested in taking part in this survey? Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

A: Household structure module

A01 Name of Main Respondent	A02 Sex	A03 Age/Year Born	A04 Born in (place):	A05 Highest grade completed in school: (Year?)	A06 How many times have you married:	A07 Is the house where you live in permanently built in land belonging to ___(1) Family of husband ___(2) Family of wife ___(3) Other
			Distance from the house you live in: Walking/Car (min/hours)			

A08 Name of Partner 1	A09 Sex	A10 Year of Marriage	A11 Born in (place):	A12 Current relation to respondent	A13 After you married, which machamba did you farm?
			Distance from permanent house: Walking/Car (min/hours)	___(1) Lives with respondent ___(2) Together, lives elsewhere ___(3) Not together at present ___(4) Other	___(1) Partner's ___(2) Own ___(3) Other (if partner's) how many years did you stay there?

A08 Name of Partner 2	A09 Sex	A10 Year of Marriage	A11 Born in (place):	A12 Current relation to respondent	A13 After you married, which machamba did you farm?
			Distance from permanent house: Walking/Car (min/hours)	___(1) Lives with respondent ___(2) Together, lives elsewhere ___(3) Not together at present ___(4) Other	___(1) Partner's ___(2) Own ___(3) Other (if yes) how many years did you stay there?

(for other partners use back)

Serial Number D-\_\_\_\_\_

A14 Check-up box	Number of children with P1	Number of children with P2	Number of children with P3	Number of children with P4	Total
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Children Roster

A15								
1. Partner	Name	Age	sex	enrolled	grade	married	lives here	comments
2. Partner	Name	Age	sex	enrolled	grade	married	lives here	comments
3. Partner	Name	Age	sex	enrolled	grade	married	lives here	comments
4. Partner	Name	Age	sex	enrolled	grade	married	lives here	comments
5. Partner	Name	Age	sex	enrolled	grade	married	lives here	comments
6. Partner	Name	Age	sex	enrolled	grade	married	lives here	comments
7. Partner	Name	Age	sex	enrolled	grade	married	lives here	comments
8. Partner	Name	Age	sex	enrolled	grade	married	lives here	comments
9. Partner	Name	Age	sex	enrolled	grade	married	lives here	comments
10. Partner	Name	Age	sex	enrolled	grade	married	lives here	comments

(If other children use the back)

A16	A17	A18	A19	A20
Number of children in secondary school	If boarding, how much do you pay for/ or who supplies:	If not boarding: distance to school and means of transport  Walking.....(min/hours) Bicycle.....(min/hours)	Why did X leave the school? (Roster number and cause) ____(1) Distance ____(2) Danger ____(3) Costs ____(4) Lack of interest ____(5) Marriage ____(6) Pregnancy ____(7) other	Did married children living here receive machambas from you or your partner? (Roster number and number of machambas)
	Accommodation:..... Food:.....			

A21		A22	A23
Besides spouses and own children, who else lives here, and what relation do they have with respondent		Do you, or anyone else in your household receive cash contributions (or maize) from someone not living here?	Do you, or anyone else in your household send cash contributions (or maize) to someone not living here?



Serial Number D-\_\_\_\_\_

B: Land Module

Respondent		Partner	
B01	Number of machambas received from parents (area if known)	B03	Number of hortas received from parents (area if known)
B02	Where Distance	B04	Where Distance
B05	Number of machambas received from parents (area if known)	B07	Number of hortas received from parents (area if known)
B06	Where Distance	B08	Where Distance

B11	B12	B13	Comments
Have you ever rented land from someone else	Have you ever rented land to someone else	Have you ever bought land from someone else	
Machambas/hortas/ year/ area/ price/ period/ rationale/ crop	Machambas/hortas/ year/ area/ price/ period/ rationale/ crop	Machambas/hortas/ year/ area/ price/ period/ rationale/ crop	
B14	B15	B15a	
Have you ever sold land to someone else	Have you ever opened machambas in land that was empty?	Have you ever borrowed or lent land from a friend or an acquaintance?	
Machambas/hortas/ year/ area/ price/ period/ rationale/ crop	Asked owner/ Nhakwawa/ autoridade/occupied/		

B16	B17
In this area, when people have conflicts over land they inherited, bought or rented who do they go to for mediation?	Have you or your family had any conflict over land? Describe

Serial Number D-\_\_\_\_\_

Household Production Module  
M: Maize Module

M01	M03
How many harvests of maize per year do you have?	How much maize did you produce in the last harvest?
M02	M04
How many hectares did you plant this year?	In the past year have you BOUGHT maize? How much?

M08	M09	M10
In the past year have you SOLD maize? How much?	How much money did you make from selling maize?	Do you sell you maize in the aldeia or in the market?

M11	M12	M13	M14
Means of transport?	Do you hire people to help with the maize?	Do you use fertilizer for maize?	What kind of seed do you use?
Own or hired? Ganyu? Cost?	(seasonal ganyu how many)	Bought, from tobacco, how much spent?	

M05	Have you ever BOUGHT maize... ___ (1) Because you did not have enough to feed the household in the year? ___ (2) To feed workers during the campanha Agrícola? ___ (3) To re-sell it later-on (negocio)?
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M15	Have you ever SOLD maize... ___ (1) Because you have more maize than what your household needs? ___ (2) Because you need cash to pay wages of workers or ganyu? ___ (3) Because it is your negocio?
-----	--

C: Other COMMERCIAL crops (in order of importance, excluding tobacco)

C01	Crop	C01	Crop	C01	Crop
	# Harvests x year		# Harvests x year		# Harvests x year
C02	Area this year	C02	Area this year	C02	Area this year
C03	Output last year	C03	Output last year	C03	Output last year
C04	Sales volume last year	C04	Sales volume last year	C04	Sales volume last year
C05	Income last year	C05	Income last year	C05	Income last year
C06	Sold where/to whom	C06	Sold where/to whom	C06	Sold where/to whom
C07	Means of transport?	C07	Means of transport?	C07	Means of transport?
C08	Labour (seasonal ganyu how many)	C08	Labour (seasonal ganyu how many)	C08	Labour (seasonal ganyu how many)

C09 List of other crops grown only for consumption (for caril, for family consumption):

Serial Number D-\_\_\_\_\_

T: Tobacco submodule			
T01	How many years have you grown tobacco?		T04 How many fardos did you sell this year?
T02	How many hectares (+sacos) did you grow the first year? s	h	T05 How many fardos did you produce in your best year?
T03	How many hectares (+sacos) did you grow this year? s	h	T06 What year was that?
T07	Total tobacco earnings in last years' campanha (2010-2011)		T08 Total tobacco earnings this campanha: (2011-2012)
T09	What will you use tobacco revenue this year for? List all:		T10 In past years what things did you buy or paid for using income from tobacco?

T11	T13	T14	T15
Which are the current sources of cash for this HH? List all:  (remittances, pensions, contributions, banca, trade, tijolos, renting cart, emprestar dinheiro, carvao, resales of crops, selling galhinas)	Have you ever bought land to allow you to expand your tobacco production:	Have you ever rented land to allow you to expand your tobacco production:	Which members of the household work in the tobacco machambas?

Do you hire people to work in your machambas?			
T16 Seasonal: Number this year	T19 Period for which worker was recruited	T22 Recruitment method	
T17 Origin	T20 Payment method 1 viveiros a venda 2 saca a venda 3 colheita a venda 4 other	T23 Recruitment difficulties	
Are any of them members of your family?	(monthly, at end of harvest, fix, according to sales)	Did any leave before end of harvest?	
T18 What year did you have most seasonal workers?	T21 Wage /Currency	T24 Provided?	
year how many?		accommodation meals soap	

T25 Ganyu Ganyu: How many at peak time	T28 Payment method (cash, kind, mix)	T31 Recruitment method
T26 Origin	T29 Max Day rate/ curr	T32 Recruitment difficulties comment
Are any of them members of your family?		
T29a What are the working times?	T33 Provided? Breakfast lunch dinner	T34 Sentiment towards hired-in labour

Serial Number D-\_\_\_\_\_

T35	Why did you decide to start growing tobacco?	T35a	What did you have to do to be admitted? Paid/talked to friends/family	T36	Are you overall satisfied with tobacco:
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D: Employment and migration history Module

CHECK	D01	D02
Age in 1983:	BEFORE THE WAR Did either of your parents do any paid work outside Angonia?	BEFORE THE WAR Did either of your parents do any paid work in Angonia?
Year of first marriage:		
First year with tobacco :	Job/Location/was it Chibalo? Ex. Moatize, Cahora Bassa, Marroneu, Mines or farming in SAF, Zim, Malawi	Job/Location/was it Chibalo? Ex. ganyu-ganyu, contrato, non-agricultural job, CAIA
D02	D04	D05
BEFORE THE WAR did you or your parents own: ___ (1) Wagon ___ (2) Plough ___ (3) Tin roof ___ (4) Bicycle	BEFORE THE WAR Did you do any paid work outside Angonia?	BEFORE THE WAR Did you do any paid work in Angonia?
	Job/Location/was it Chibalo? Ex. Moatize, Cahora Bassa, Marroneu, Mines or farming in SAF, Zim, Malawi	Job/Location/was it Chibalo? Ex. ganyu-ganyu, contrato, non-agricultural job, CAIA

D05a If no paid work: what did you/your parents grow?

D06	D07	D08
BEFORE THE WAR did you live with your parents/your partner?	DURING THE WAR Were you or anyone in your household recruited/kidnapped/killed by any armed group?	Was your household displaced DURING THE WAR:  Year:
Where and with whom if not		

D08a	D09	D10
What caused you to leave?	Where did your household go? Country Camp District Zone	DURING THE WAR if you did not live with your parents/partner, why were you separated?

Serial Number D-\_\_\_\_\_

D12	D13	D14
If born before 1976 (16 at end of war) : DURING THE WAR Did you find paid work? List all	DURING THE WAR Did any member of your family find paid work? List all	DURING THE WAR, what other sources of income did your HH have? (list all) PROBE FOR BUSINESS
Job/Location/ casual/ permanent/migrated with family/ alone/duration/payment mode?	Job/Location/ casual/ permanent/migrated with family/ alone/duration/payment mode?	Cestas, perform services, banca, prepared pombe, compravenda, selling crops

D15	D16	D17	D18
DURING THE WAR did you farm a Machamba?	DURING THE WAR what sources of food did your HH have? ___(1) Hand-outs (camps, red cross) ___(2) Machamba in Mozambique ___(3) Machamba in Malawi ___(4) Machamba in the border ___(5) Mostly bought food ___(6) Other	Did you/your parents bring savings from these jobs/business to reopen machambas when returning to Mozambique?	What year did your household return to Mozambique?
Where? How did you obtain it? What did you do with it at your return?			

D21	D22	D23
AFTER THE WAR Did you find paid work outside Angonia?	AFTER THE WAR Did you find paid work in Angonia?	In _____ you came back to Angonia and in _____ you started growing tobacco. What were your household's sources of cash before tobacco?
Job/Location Ex. Tete, Sofala, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Malawi	Job/Location Ex. ganyu-ganyu, contrato, non-agricultural job	Ex: ganyu-ganyu, contrato, non-agricultural job, banca, trade, renting cart, selling tijolos, selling crops, other

D24	D25	D26
After you started growing tobacco, have you done any paid work?	If respondent has children over the age of 20: HAVE YOUR CHILDREN done any paid work before getting married?	In this area, what kind of things do young people do to save money before getting married?
Job/Location Ex: ganyu-ganyu, contrato, non-agricultural job	Job/Location Ex: ganyu-ganyu, contrato, non-agricultural job	Job/Location Ex: ganyu-ganyu, contrato, non-agricultural job, work parents machamba

Serial Number D-\_\_\_\_\_

**E: Expenses and vulnerability**

E01	E02	E04	E05	E06
List your household's main expenses	How much money does your household spend buying food (inc. caril) in a typical day or week?	Have you been indebted in the past year?	To whom? \$ borrowed \$ paid	Have you lend money to a colleague, friend or relative in the last year?

**F: Housing and living conditions (for permanent house)**

I will now ask some questions about your house and your belongings. Your answer will help me understand living conditions in Angonia.

F01	F02a	F08	F9
Does your house have Electricity? ___(0) No ___(1) Public network ___(3) Private generator	The water that you use comes from: ___(1) Piped water ___(2) Water from public well with BOMBA ___(3) Water from public well without BOMBA ___(4) Water from private well ___(5) Water from river ___(6) Water from rain	How many other people usually sleep in the same room as the respondent	Did you build your house? What year?
F10	F11	F12	F13
Inside floor ___(1) Earth/ sand/ Dung ___(2) Wood planks, Parquet or polished wood, Vinyl ___(3) Ceramic tiles, Cement/bricks, Carpet ___(4) Other:	Type of roof: ___(1) Thatch/leaf, Rustic mat/plastic sheets, Reed/bamboo, Wood planks ___(2) Corrugated iron ___(3) Calamine/cement fibre, Cement/concrete, Roofing shingles ___(4) Other	Main material used in outer walls: ___(1) Cane, cane/mud/straw ___(2) Tijolo cru Plywood, Stone with mud/lime/cement ___(3) Tijolo cozido, Cement blocks ___(4) Other	Are there any windows? ___(1) No windows ___(2) Windows with glass ___(3) Windows without glass but with cover ___(4) Windows without covers

**F14 How many of the following do you own?**

Mobile Phone	Wrist watch	Pairs leather shoes	Water pump	Watering cans	Hoes	Bicycle
Motorcycle	Animal-drawn Cart	Ox plough	Pots	Blankets	Radios	TV
Candle stick	Torch	Car	Truck	Dvd player	Satellite dish	Mill engine
Metal or wood bed	Bank account	Cows/bulls	Chickens	Pigs	Donkeys/mules	Goats

Do you want your photo taken? We can't promise to bring back the print out, but we will do our best to get it to you.

Zikomo Kwambiri! This is the end of interview. I want to thank you for taking the time and sharing your experiences with us. We hope this has been an interesting activity for you too. Do you have any other questions or comments for us?

### Annex 3. A note on types of tobacco

Tobacco is generally grown between the latitudes of 40° north and 40° south. Tobacco farms can be found in over 30 countries, including Argentina, Brazil, China, Greece, Italy, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Spain, Turkey and the United States.

The three most commonly used tobacco types are Virginia (or 'flue-cured'), burley and oriental.

**Virginia** (flue-cured) tobacco is often referred to as 'bright tobacco' because of the golden-yellow to deep-orange color it reaches during curing. Virginia tobacco is cured in heated barns (thus the name flue-cured). The curing process takes a week. Virginia tobacco has a light, bright aroma and taste. Major Virginia tobacco growing countries are Argentina, Brazil, China, India, Tanzania and the U.S.

**Burley tobacco** is light to dark brown in color. Burley tobacco is air-cured in barns. During the long curing process, which takes up to two months, the tobacco loses most of its natural sugars, and develops a strong, almost cigar-like taste. Major Burley growing countries are Argentina, Brazil, Italy, Malawi and the U.S.

**Oriental tobacco** is highly aromatic. It has small leaves which are harvested leaf by leaf, much like Virginia tobacco, and sun-cured in the open air. Major oriental tobacco growing countries are Bulgaria, Greece, Macedonia and Turkey.

#### **Tobacco Blends:**

Cigarette styles are characterized by their tobacco blend. Two of the most common cigarette styles are blended and Virginia.

Blended cigarettes typically use the three main tobacco varieties: Virginia, burley and oriental. Normally, blended cigarettes have added ingredients to replace the sugars lost during the curing of burley tobacco and to provide the distinctive tobacco flavor and aroma of each cigarette brand. Blended cigarettes are the most popular cigarettes in the United States, most of Europe, Latin America, Eastern Europe and many Asian countries. Popular blended cigarettes include the Philip Morris International (PMI) brands Marlboro, L&M and Chesterfield.

Virginia cigarettes are primarily composed of Virginia tobacco. Some Virginia blends, called modified Virginia blends, contain small amounts of burley and/or oriental tobaccos. Virginia-style cigarettes are popular in most of the British Commonwealth (Australia, Canada, India, Malaysia, Pakistan, Nigeria, the U.K. and South Africa). China, the largest cigarette market in the world, is a Virginia market. Virginia blends typically do not use flavour ingredients.

Other types of cigarettes include cigarettes made from dark or air-cured tobaccos, oriental tobacco cigarettes and kreteks, which contain cloves and are the most popular style of cigarette in Indonesia.

#### **Tobacco Grading:**

The type of tobacco leaf is one important element in developing a tobacco blend. The grade of the individual tobacco leaf is another.

After harvesting and curing, the leaf is given a grade, which describes the stalk position, quality, and color. The grading system guides the blending process and ensures that leaves of the right type and quality are used to achieve the tastes and aromas of our different cigarette brands.

Source: <http://www.pmi.com/>



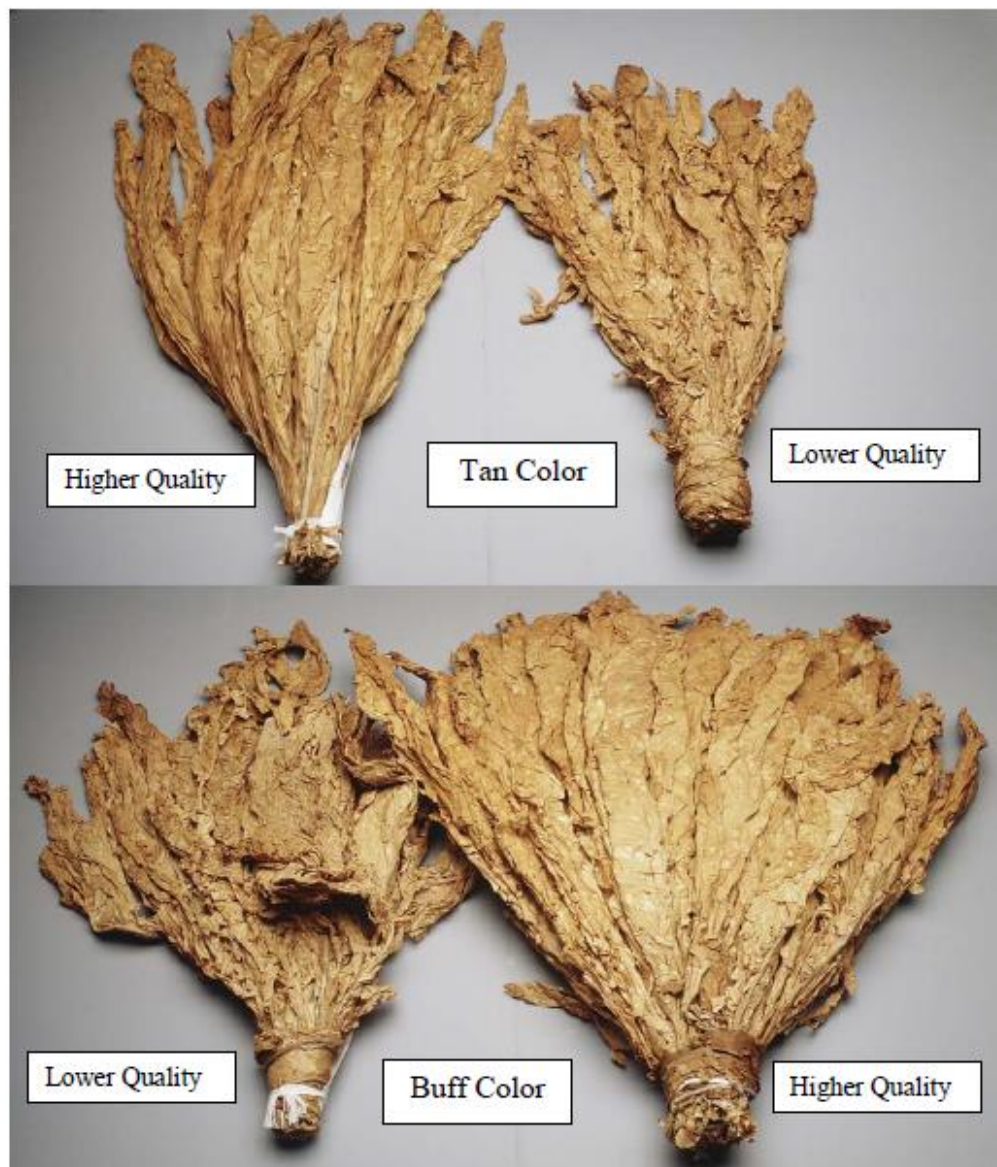
#### Annex 4. Burley tobacco classification system

Stalk position





## Quality of the cure



For an exhaustive explanation:

<http://www.ares.vaes.vt.edu/southern-piedmont/tobacco/production-management/documents/BurleyGradeInformationNewGrowers.pdf>

Table A3.1 MLT Table of prices for Burley Tobacco in Angónia (Meticais per kg)

<i>Tobacco type</i> (as per classification guide)		2007	2008	2011	2012
Lugs	X1	27	34	46	46
	X2	22	29	42	42
	X3	18	25	40	39
	XJ1	16	21	33	33
	XJ2	12	16	31	29
	XM	7	14	21	18
<i>Lugs yellowed</i>	KX	7	14	25	25
Thin Leaf	M1	29	38	51	52
	M2	25	34	46	47
	M3	18	28	43	43
	MJ1	16	22	34	34
	MJ2	12	17	32	32
	MM	7	14	21	21
Cutters	C1	25	34	46	46
	C2	21	29	42	42
	C3	17	25	40	39
	CJ1	16	21	33	33
	CJ2	12	16	31	29
	CM	7	14	21	18
Bodied Leaf	BL1	38	43	61	62
	BL2	28	38	52	53
	BL3	22	30	46	46
	BLJ1	16	22	34	34
	BLJ2	12	17	32	32
	BLM	7	14	21	21
<i>Leaf yellowed</i>	KL	7	14	25	25
Tips	T4	16	21	33	33
	TJ	12	16	27	27

## Annex 5. Typology of tobacco farmers: Cases

### Magrini, Rich farmer (b)

His father worked for some years in a Factory in Harare. Magrini was a 14 when his family left for Malawi during the war. The whole family settled in Kasungu and both of his parents became tenants in a tobacco estate. Magrini found work as a child helper in the main farm. All the food they received from the estate and at the end of the sales period was discounted from their payment for the tobacco. Out of his wages, first as child helper, then as *ticketi*, Magrini managed to save some money. His parents stayed in Malawi a few years after the war, because they had a job there and were uncertain about returning to Mozambique. Magrini met his wife in Malawi and got married. By then things had stabilized in Angónia and word came that a company was supporting tobacco. They decided to return to Mozambique and to farm his land. His lineage had abundant land for him, so his wife left her land behind for her relatives. They have six children. Magrini did well in tobacco. Having long experience, as the child of tenant farmers, he started recruiting tenants from Malawi. With time he also bought a large stretch of forest and is in the process of clearing the land to expand production. Magrini is a very large producer of maize. He uses improved seed and fertilizer and hires many *ganyu* workers on his own fields of maize. However, since he has to provide maize for all the tenant families, every year he has to buy additional maize. The maize consumed by the tenants is discounted from their final payment for tobacco. Magrini is a wealthy man in Angónia standards. He owns motorcycles, cattle, oxen and a cart. He produces tobacco directly using mostly casual labour and has recruited couples of tenants with 1-2 hectares each. Most of his time is spent coordinating the logistics of his large operation.

### Samisone, Middle farmer (c)

Samisone was 16 years old when the war came to Angónia. Around that time his father had returned from working in South Africa, but his maternal grandfather was still working with CAIA. Renamo captured his father and they heard he was killed, but they never found his body. They fled to Malawi early in the war. At that time refugee settlements had not been set up. They settled in a border town in southern Malawi. Samisone migrated onwards to Kasungu where he found a job as *ticketi*. His mother and sister stayed in south Malawi, but he send some money to support them. He stayed in Kasungu working as *ticketi* for 14 years. There he married a Malawian and had five children. When they split he decided to return to Angónia. His family had been away for too long, he had no wife. They could not recover what land his mother farmed before the war. After some years a *nyakwawa* agreed to give his mother some land, but as a separated man, his claim to land in his mother's village was not compelling. With no land to farm he did some *ganyu* and traded coal and firewood on bicycle in the market of Vila Ulongue. This is one of the hardest and least attractive income generation activities. Two years later he married a separated woman from his own village. She had a large field of her own. They now have four children together. With his new wife he farmed maize for a couple of years and then took up tobacco. They started with half of a hectare, but did well. Now they produce 40-50 bales per year. The family has reinvested part of the proceeds from tobacco lending money on interest to neighbours. Over the years they have been building a house. First they bought the tin roof, then they baked the bricks and over the last year they assembled the house. Money for tobacco also pays for the fertilizer used in the maize. For agricultural work, Samisoni recruits three *seasoni* workers per year and *ganyu* workers during peak labour time. They also own a motorcycle and 10 cows.

Milka, Small farmer (d)

Milka is a 45 year old farmer. Her dad had worked in the mines in Rhodesia and she had married a man in the village before the war came to Angónia. When the village was attacked 17 people were killed. Seven of them were from her lineage. All the villagers left afterwards for Malawi. She stayed in the refugee settlement but her husband found a job in a Shop in Blantyre. Because she was alone with her children, the local *Nykwawa* gave her some land for maize. But she also did *ganyu* in Malawi throughout the war. With the maize, she would make *pombe* for sale. After the war she returned to Angónia. Her husband would come from time to time, but then he decided to stay in Blantyre for good. Sometimes he sends money for the children. Her oldest son married in Malawi and stayed there. After returning from Malawi, Milka did *ganyu* and sold vegetables from her garden, but in 2003 she managed to get accepted as contract farmer in tobacco. She continues to sell vegetables, potato and beans in the market. Milka uses the proceeds from tobacco to feed the family for some months. She puts some money away every year to pay for *ganyu* workers on which she is critically dependent. Milka had received two fields and two gardens from her family, but knew that one of the fields was on loan from a friend of her father and that she would eventually have to give it back. Later on her eldest daughter got married and she had to give her a part of the field. Milka decided to use the tobacco proceeds to buy a new field, both to sustain her tobacco production as well as to have something to bequeath to her other three children. She pays for help to make her tobacco bales, but goes to the commercial floor to sell her own tobacco, along with other farmers in her club. With money from tobacco she built a better house, but would like to buy a cart and oxen. She expressed well the particular contradiction of owing her livelihood to tobacco, but having no other feasible options: “do I like farming tobacco? I do not know...what else can you do?”

Kolophete, Poor Farmer (e)

Kolophete was a child when his family had to go to Malawi. His father had been working in the mines of Moatize like many others in the village. In Malawi they first went to the refugee settlements but both parents then ventured into Kasungu where they found jobs as *ticketi*. Because they were *ticketi*, they could not bring the rest of the family. The children stayed back in the settlement with relatives. When Kolophete was old enough to get a job, he joined his parents and worked as *ticketi*. When the war finished they all returned to Mozambique. He married a woman from the village and each received a hectare of land from their families. They have mostly used his field, because they have not had money to clear a bigger field in his wife's land. Kolophete's family has been farming tobacco since they returned, but do not have enough land to expand their production. They now have two children and more expenses. When he is not busy with his own tobacco, Kolophete finds *ganyu* labour with his neighbours. His wife brews *pombe* for sale. With these savings they rent a small field and a garden to alternate the tobacco and maize. Their land alone is not enough to combine maize and tobacco and they need both. The money from tobacco gives them cash to buy food for some months and clothes. Only in the last season they made enough money to start thinking about building a baked brick house. Their most valuable possessions are a bicycle and four goats.



## Annex 7. Pictures



Farmers have had a meeting with the company's technician. They have been given fertilizer for the coming season and are now returning home (source: the author)



Tobacco field near Mount Domwe (Source: MLT/DNSA).



After the leaf dries it is classified and grouped into bundles of 10. A *ganyu* worker makes leaf bundles (Source: the author).

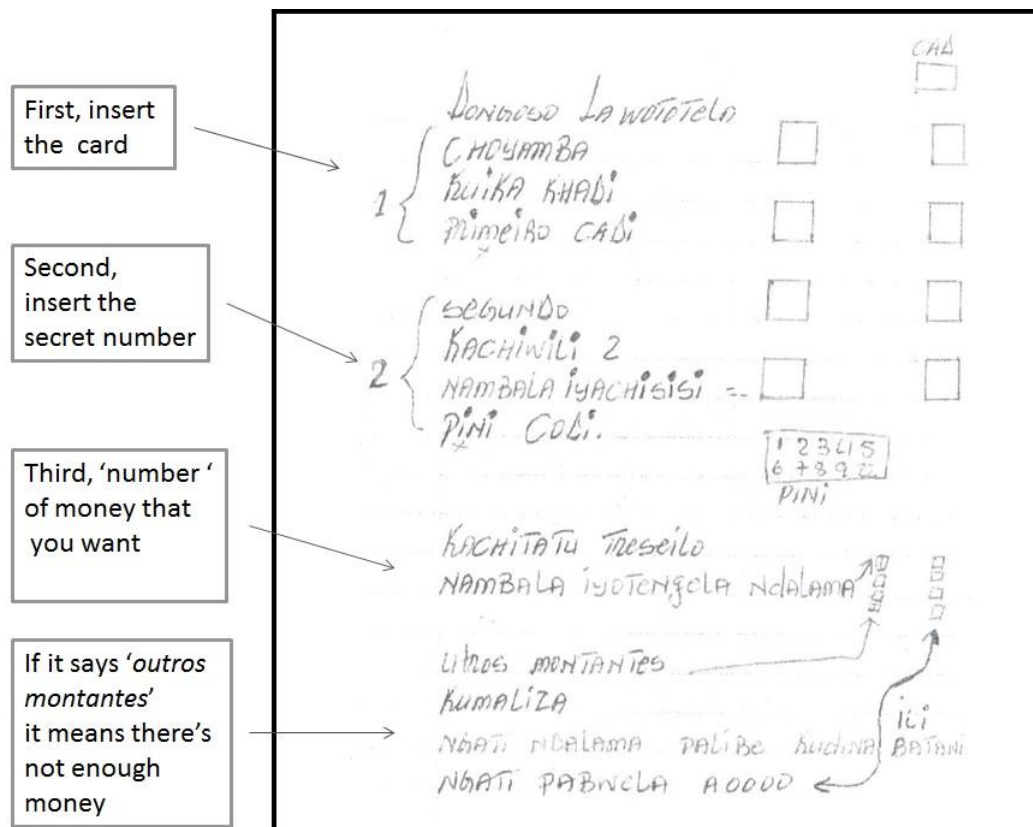


Bundles of tobacco are sorted into classes and pressed into standard-size bales for the commercialization. A worker making tobacco bales (Source: the author).





After the tobacco has been sold and before the beginning of the new agricultural season there is time to work on the house. In the picture, a farmer adds a layer of cement to the façade of a house built the previous year (source: the author).



Using the ATM - The cash machine was set up a few years ago in Vila Ulongue. One of the farmers interviewed keeps a diary of activities in the farm. In the picture, the farmer's notes on how to retrieve cash from the ATM (The author: facsimile of the diary of a farmer).



MLT's Tobacco threshing plant in Tete (Source: MLT/DNSA).



Tomato is another post-conflict crop. Farmers in North Angónia learned to produce it as refugees in Malawi and still go there to pick up inputs. Tomato uses less labour than tobacco, but needs more pesticides. Farmers bring their produce to the Madeia market where traders from Tete and Beira buy wholesale (Source: the author).



